THE SHERROD LIBRARY
PERIODICALS
JOHNSON CITY TN

The Nation.

ruary 16, 1985 $1.25 U.K. 65p

TORIAL

THE SPY WHO CAME INTO THE GOLD

This is the decade of the deal—the astronomical movie deal, the unprecedented real estate deal, the drug deal, the football deal, the corporate takeover deal. We have marveled at the exploits of the stars: Spielberg, Trump and DeLorean; Flutie, Pickens and Agee. But few have cut such an entertaining and profitable figure as Arkady Shevchenko, the Soviet defector who seems to have made the publishing deal of the century.

Whether Shevchenko had his book package in mind when he began slipping secrets to the C.I.A. may never be known except to the gnomes of Langley, but he certainly conducted himself in a way that any editor would adore. Love, war, death and drink liven up the grim business of espionage, and the result is *Breaking with Moscow*, a book which is all cold war culture vultures could want. The hype has been beyond a publisher's wildest dreams: a front-page story in *The New York Times*, the cover of *Time*, a segment on *60 Minutes*.

But the fact is that Shevchenko was identified as a U.S. mole in a book published back in 1983, *KGB Today: The Hidden Hand*, by John Barron. Reviewing it in the March 1984 *Commentary*, Edward Jay Epstein noted that the media, including *The New York Times*, had ignored the book and the revelations therein. Why had the Shevchenko affair been overlooked until now? Apparently news is not news until it coincides with publication day.

So far, there have been no harsh words from the U.S. officials who have been bellyaching for years about Soviet spies on the permanent staff of the United Nations. The theory is that the Soviet Union has perverted and corrupted the U.N. system. But could it have been the other way around? Read all about it—for $18.95.

HOW TO BREAK THE ARMS-TALK DEADLOCK
John Tirman

WHAT LEE IACOCCA DIDN'T TELL
Greg Mitchell

TWO-CULTURE DEBATE
Warren I. Susman

BATTLING HISTORIANS
Jon Wiener

IS THEATER INFERIOR TO THE MOVIES?
Paul Berman

THE SHARON VERDICT

WRONG CASE, WRONG PLACE, WRONG RESULT

MARTIN GARBUS

The press's reaction to the verdict in *Ariel Sharon v. Time Inc.* was astonishing. *The New York Times* proudly proclaimed that it affirmed "the law's special protections for a free press" and demonstrated that the Constitution "plainly aims to protect and promote fearless reporting and debate." *The Washington Post* wrote that the decision upheld the Supreme Court's purpose in protecting free speech. Various First Amendment lawyers and media executives said the outcome of the case proved that juries are capable of determining if public officials should recover damages in libel suits. The consensus was that all is well with the First Amendment; we can breathe a sigh of relief.

On the contrary. The Sharon verdict proves that public officials who claim they have been libeled by a critical story should not be permitted to sue. *Time* and Gen. Ariel Sharon each claim that the other lost, but the loser was the public. If cases like Sharon's continue to be allowed to go to trial, the public will be deprived of critical information about matters of public controversy.

Twenty-one years ago, in the watershed case of *New York Times v. Sullivan*, the Supreme Court held that to prove libel, a public official must establish that the statements about him had been published with "actual malice"—that is, with knowledge that they were false or in reckless disregard of the truth. But the *Sullivan* rule has failed to protect the press adequately. There has been an explosion of lawsuits against the media; juries have awarded large damages (since 1980 there have been more than twenty cases in which damages exceeded $1 million); and the high legal

(Continued on Page 176)

ETSU LIBRARY
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTERS.

CRAZY IN THE HEAD

New York City

Is *The Nation* having a nervous breakdown? That's the kindest explanation for the bizarre editorial titled "Mean-Streak Culture" [Jan. 12].

I spoke out strongly against the so-called vigilante shooting in New York City. Criminal acts such as this one are a threat to the very foundations of law and civilization itself. For *The Nation* to suggest that I have helped create a climate conducive to vigilante terror is a crude and shameful attempt at scapegoating. It is as false and nonsensical as saying that *The Nation*, with its sympathetic view of civil liberties and defendants' rights, helped create the increase in crime that plagues America.

The editorial speaks of a "rage born of civic breakdown." Rage is indeed spreading through our country, and it's a frightening prospect. One aspect of this problem is the civic breakdown caused by the crime wave that has overwhelmed our criminal justice system. Americans of all ages, races and backgrounds are sick and tired of being victimized by thugs. It is ludicrous for *The Nation* to imply that people are divided on this issue along racial and ethnic lines. In a recent incident in Chicago, both the "vigilante" shooter and the person he shot were black. Does *The Nation* blame Mayor Harold Washington for that violence?

It's time to accept a hard fact about crime. Criminals (and that includes vigilantes) are freelance fascists. They use the classic tools of the tyrant—fear and force—to impose their will on others. When fascism succeeds on streets and subways, it weakens respect for democracy and due process. I hope we can channel public response to vigilante crime into effective reform of our legal system. Justice and the Constitution are the proper antidotes to crime, not vigilante terror.

Mayor Edward I. Koch

The Mayor confirms our report that he condemned the subway shooting and vigilantism. His response, however, does not address our primary point, that his administration has spoken to the demands of white citizens specifically in regard to their fears of blacks and Hispanics. He made reinstitution of the death penalty the centerpiece of his first mayoral race. He is a national spokesman for the campaign to reverse affirmative action plans. Those and other symbolic positions and substantive policies have been seen, quite accurately, to appeal to white ethnics on a racial basis. We wrote, "Everyone knows where Koch stands." Now, as the election year takes shape, virtually all black and most Hispanic leaders in the city are looking for ways to defeat Mayor Koch.

—The Editors

'ONLY WHEN THE LEFT . . .'

New York City

The Nation's editorial "Subway Catharsis" [Jan. 19] was moving, dignified and deeply flawed in its contention that Bernhard Goetz's sad cheerleaders are animated mainly by the racist myth that "the wounds of his victims redeem a fallen land." The flaw is empirical and pedagogical, compromising the left's struggle to unlock the grip of racism.

Tragically, the pro-Goetz comments of nonwhite New Yorkers—from the Guardian Angels' Curtis Sliwa to the black pedestrians interviewed on the evening news—are representative of a remarkably broad swath of minority-group opinion. What has dominated the living-room conversations of progressive New Yorkers of all races is the fact that Goetz has been praised by blacks and Hispanics, who consider him something other than "blond, brave and Germanic."

By failing to assimilate that information, the left has mischaracterized the complex nature of Goetz's white support. That racist mythology is pivotal in our accommodation of an oppressive political economy doesn't negate the fact that, precisely because this society is racist, a preponderance of violent crime in cities like New York is committed by members of minority groups and that most whites therefore experience racism as part of a daily reality whose contours black and Hispanic city dwellers are only too willing to confirm.

Under the circumstances, the editorial's criticism of the media's disingenuous understatement of race in the Goetz case is beside the point. For the myth being nourished here is even more perverse and central in American life—the notion, common to all races and urged on us daily in a hundred ways, that it's safer to blow away 19-year-old criminals than to struggle for a society that would educate and employ 17-year-olds experimenting with crime.

Only when the left stops casting as purely racist the anguish and trepidation whites and blacks alike feel in the shadow of that challenge can it hope to break the spell of racism.

Jim Sleeper

AN INTELLECTUAL APART

Princeton, N.J.

It's great to see Dwight Macdonald taken seriously as the independent and intelligent radical that he was, but in an otherwise splendid review, Casey Blake does leave a wrong impression about an important bit of 1950s New York intellectual history ["A Radical's Unorthodoxy," Jan. 12]. It's simply mistaken to lump Irving Howe with William Barrett, William Phillips and other recent memoir writers as "members of the generation . . . who made the long journey from fellow-traveling liberalism to anti-Stalinist Marxism and, finally, to the cold war consensus celebrated in *Partisan Review*'s 'Our Country and Our Culture' symposium of 1952." Howe is of that generation, but his politics, then and now, set him apart.

Although Howe abandoned his Schactmanite Marxism, he never renounced his socialism or embraced consensus liberalism. Along with Norman Mailer and C. Wright Mills, he participated in the notorious *Partisan Review* symposium in order to attack its sentimental patriotism and its flight from social criticism. Not long after, he helped start *Dissent*, an explicitly socialist alternative to *Partisan Review*, *Commentary* and the New York intellectual mainstream. And, as we all know, Howe remains an active socialist today.

Howe's socialism was, and is, very different from Macdonald's "anarcho-cynicalism." No doubt that helps explain why Howe's memoirs undervalue Macdonald's ideas. But it would be a shame if a fresh appreciation of Dwight Macdonald led us to misunderstand Irving Howe.

Sean Wilentz

BLAKE REPLIES

Portland, Ore.

I apologize for accidentally misleading readers about Howe's career as a socialist intellectual. I wished to call attention to Howe's memoir, *A Margin of Hope*, which deals at length with the postwar trajectory of the New York intellectuals. In the process, I may have given the impression that Howe's development paralleled that of Lionel Abel, William Barrett, William Phillips and others.

Casey Blake

HANGING WITH THE MINERS

Scarsdale, N.Y.

Readers who were moved by Jane Dibblin's fine piece describing the British miners' strike ["British Miners Are Hanging Tough," Feb. 2] might be interested in these two facts. The *New Statesman* (14-16 Farringdon Lane, London EC 1R 3AU, England) is serving as a collection point for relief funds for the miners. And the South African National Union of Mineworkers, beleaguered and threadbare as it is, recently sent 500 rand in a spontaneous gesture of solidarity with the British miners.

Carol Bernstein Ferry

The Nation welcomes letters—typed, double spaced and no longer than 300 words, please. Longer letters may be edited for reasons of space. Our policy is to publish as many letters as space permits, but inevitably a backlog develops, so please bear with us.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CONTENTS.

Volume 240, Number 6

LETTERS
162

EDITORIALS
161 The Spy Who Came Into the Gold
163 Khaki Capitalism
164 Among the Missing
164 No News = Bad News — *Robert Lekachman*
165 The Tumbrels Roll — *David A. Kaplan*

COLUMNS
166 Minority Report — *Christopher Hitchens*

ARTICLES
161 The Sharon Verdict: Wrong Case, Wrong Place, Wrong Result — *Martin Garbus*
167 Unilateralism: A Way to Break the Arms Deadlock — *John Tirman*
171 Iacocca's Untold Story: Puncturing the Air-Bag Rule — *Greg Mitchell*
172 Scarcity vs. Abundance: A Dialectic of Two Cultures — *Warren I. Susman*

BOOKS & THE ARTS
180 Footnotes to History — *Jon Wiener*
183 Aksyonov: The Burn: A Novel in Three Books (Late Sixties–Early Seventies) Trifonov: The Old Man — *Karen Rosenberg*
185 Theater — *Paul Berman*
187 Dance — *Mindy Aloff*

Drawings by J-C Suarès

Editor, Victor Navasky

Executive Editor, Richard Lingeman; *Associate Editors,* Elsa Dixler, Andrew Kopkind; *Assistant Editor,* Katrina vanden Heuvel; *Literary Editor,* Elizabeth Pochoda; *Assistant Literary Editor,* Maria Margaronis; *Poetry Editor,* Grace Schulman; *Copy Chief,* JoAnn Wypijewski; *Assistant Copy Editors,* Anthony Borden, Judith Long, Art Winslow; *Carey McWilliams Fellow,* Micah L. Sifry; *Interns,* Michael Caruso, Philip Gordon, Laird Harrison, Deanna Jordan-Schmidt, Maura Sheehy, Ilena Silverman, Francis Wilkinson. *On leave,* Kai Bird, Katha Pollitt.

Departments: Art, Arthur C. Danto; *Dance,* Mindy Aloff; *Films,* Andrew Kopkind; *Lingo,* Jim Quinn; *Music,* David Hamilton; *Theater,* Paul Berman; *Correspondents: Washington, D.C.,* Christopher Hitchens; *Latin America,* Penny Lernoux; *Europe,* Daniel Singer; *London,* Raymond Williams; *Paris,* Claude Bourdet; *Defense,* Michael T. Klare; *Columnists and Regular Contributors:* Calvin Trillin (*Uncivil Liberties*), Stephen F. Cohen (*Sovieticus*), Kai Bird & Max Holland (*Dispatches*), Alexander Cockburn (*Beat the Devil*), Thomas Ferguson & Joel Rogers (*The Political Economy*). *Contributing Editors:* Blair Clark, Herman Schwartz, Gore Vidal. *Editorial Board:* James Baldwin, Norman Birnbaum, Richard Falk, Frances FitzGerald, Philip Green, Elinor Langer, Sidney Morgenbesser, Aryeh Neier, Elizabeth Pochoda, Marcus G. Raskin, A.W. Singham, Roger Wilkins, Alan Wolfe.

Manuscripts: All work submitted will be read by the editors. The magazine cannot, however, be responsible for the return of unsolicited manuscripts unless they are accompanied by self-addressed stamped envelopes.

Publisher, Hamilton Fish 3rd

Associate Publisher, David Parker; *Advertising Director,* Chris Calhoun; *Business Manager,* Ann B. Epstein; *Bookkeeper,* Gertrude Silverston; *Art/Production Manager,* Jane Sharples; *Circulation Manager,* Stephen W. Soule; *Subscription Manager,* Cookee V. Klein; *Receptionist,* Greta Loell; *Mail Clerk,* John Holtz; *Administrative Secretary,* Shirley Sulat; *Production,* Terry Miller; *Typography,* David Acker, Mark Rausher; *Nation Associates,* Claudine Bacher; *Nation News Service,* Jeff Sorensen.

The Nation (ISSN 0027-8378) is published weekly (except for the first week in January, and biweekly in July and August) by Nation Enterprises and © 1985 in the U.S.A. by the Nation Associates, Inc., 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. (212) 242-8400. *Washington Office:* Suite 308, 110 Maryland Avenue N.E., Washington DC 20002 (202) 546-2239. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y., and at additional mailing offices. International Telex: 667 155 NATION.

Subscription orders, changes of address and all subscription inquiries should be sent to: *The Nation,* Subscription Services, Box 1953, Marion, OH 43305. *Regular Subscription Price:* One year, $40; two years, $72; six months, $20. Add $7 per year postage Canada, Mexico; $13 per year other foreign. Claims for missed issues must be made within 60 days (120 days, foreign) of publication date; back issues available $3 prepaid ($4 foreign). **Please allow 6-8 weeks for receipt of your first issue and for all subscription transactions.** *The Nation* is available on microfilm from: University Microfilms, 300 North Zeeb Rd., Ann Arbor, MI 48106.

EDITORIALS.

Khaki Capitalism

Led by Field Marshal Weinberger, the Reagan war machine is preparing its fiercest attack to date on the structure of American social welfare and public enterprise. The devilishly simple strategy is a work of political genius. In its first phase, the Federal deficit was swelled to unconscionable size by popular tax cuts, a therapeutic recession and a military buildup won through appeals to patriotic pride and paranoia.

Phase two came in the late election campaign, when the Democratic opposition was mousetrapped into making the deficit its principal issue, and tax increases its only solution. In the third phase, which began with the delivery of the fiscal 1986 budget to Congress, the Administration has accepted the Democrats' issue, rejected their solution and set about to do what it intended all along: return to the free-market paradise from which Americans were expelled when Franklin Roosevelt assumed power in 1933.

The land to which Reagan would return is far stranger than paradise. Its economy is to be based on the production of burgers and bombers, with the emphasis on the latter. Its landscape would be littered with dead cities, broken-down mass transportation, backward and dwindling public schools, landless family farmers and bankrupt small businesses. The scores of millions who cannot make it in this opportunity society will be cared for in private prisons, volun-

ETSU LIBRARY FEB 20 1985
The Sherrod Library
East Tennessee State University
Johnson City, Tennessee 37614
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

teer soup kitchens and old Amtrak stations converted to shelters for the homeless. The glittering prizes will be reserved for you-know-who.

And there are more phases in the future. Social Security and Medicare—two "special interests" so general not even Reagan feels confident to attack them—will have to go if the market myth is to be advanced. The tactic chosen will probably involve the privatization of these and other welfare programs. Those who do not qualify for private pension plans and corporate medical insurance schemes will have to depend on the kindness of strangers.

Such dreadful events could easily be avoided by the obvious expedient of reducing the Pentagon budget, even by the kind of freeze Reagan is so eager to lower on social programs. But that would endanger the Administration's overall strategy. The point, after all, is not to find any old way out of the deficit gap but to exploit the fear of red ink (and Reds) to dismantle the structure of government intervention in the economy. Moreover, until that distant day when the liberal welfare state withers away, the government *must* intervene, simply to keep the blush on the boom. Defense spending may not be the best way to prime pumps and push profits, but it is the only way that is consonant with Reagan's ideological project. The military buildup of the last four years was targeted to benefit Reagan's favorite constituents: white family men of the Sun Belt. It did the job. The recovery (such as it is, with 7.4 percent unemployment, massive trade deficits and rising poverty) is a testament to the efficacy of khaki Keynesianism.

The Democrats do control the House, where a leading member of the black caucus, Representative William Gray, is the new chair of the House Budget Committee. Reagan's automatic majority in the Senate has been cut significantly since early 1981. But the opposition is weak, disorganized and unconvinced of its own ideas and ideals. The programmatic liberalism that has been America's official ideology for a half-century was vulnerable to attack: from the left for its elitism and inequities, from the right for its cost and inefficiency. This year, the right is on the move. But another kind of opposition, with a vision of public democracy and economic justice, is waiting to be organized, and it could begin work by hitting the field marshal where he feels it most, in the seat of his budget.

Among the Missing

On January 26, Dr. Gustavo Sequeira, vice dean of the faculty of medical sciences at the National Autonomous University of Nicaragua, and three members of a team of health workers visiting Rama Key, an island inhabited by 500 Indians off Nicaragua's southeast coast, were kidnapped by *contra* guerrillas. The attack occurred a few hours after the team arrived. Several days later the radio station of the F.D.N., a *contra* group based in Honduras, confirmed that the kidnappings took place. Senator Edward Kennedy's office has informed us that Sequeira is believed to be alive.

Atrocities by the *contras* are a daily occurrence in Nicaragua's dirty little war, and attacks on medical personnel are not unusual. Thirty health centers have been forced to close because of damage inflicted by the rebels. Eighteen health workers—including two volunteer doctors from Europe—had been killed, thirteen wounded and eighteen others kidnapped, tortured or raped prior to the assault on Rama Key. The *contras* have made it dangerous for medical teams to enter contested areas, deliberately disrupting the Nicaraguan government's vaccination campaigns and malaria control efforts in the countryside.

Still, Dr. Sequeira's faculty position and his friends in the United States make this latest outrage a highly visible one. According to Dr. Paula Braveman, an assistant clinical professor in the School of Medicine of the University of California, San Francisco, who has worked with the Nicaraguan medical school in developing exchange programs, this was the fourth time Sequeira had volunteered to travel with medical teams to rural areas. Although his main interests lie in teaching and research, he has felt a strong obligation to perform fieldwork to set an example for his students.

But the individual tragedy aside, he is a doctor and should be treated as a noncombatant under the rules of war, which all civilized nations are pledged to uphold. The abductions at Rama Key, and all attacks on medical personnel, call for the severest condemnation. Let Gustavo Sequeira symbolize all the victims of the *contras*—and of the immorality of the Reagan Administration's support for them.

Sometimes in the past, the *contras* have released captives in response to international pressure. *Nation* readers are urged to join the campaign calling for Sequeira's release. Although this effort centers on one man, it could rally indignation in Congress against the Administration's expected request for a resumption of official aid to the *contras*. Letters and telegrams demanding intervention on behalf of Dr. Sequeira and his three co-workers should be sent to:

U.S. Department of State
ARA/CEN
Room 4915
Washington, DC 20520
(202) 632-2205

Intelligence Committee
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515
(202) 224-3121

Intelligence Committee
U.S. Senate Office Building
Washington, DC 20510
(202) 224-3121

Embassy of Honduras
4301 Connecticut Ave. NW
Suite 408
Washington, DC 20008
(202) 966-7700

No News = Bad News

In January, unemployment rose to 7.4 percent—up 0.2 percent from December. It was the second monthly increase in a row. Not to worry. According to White House flack Larry Speakes, the figure merely represents "end-of-the-year volatility." Dan Rather alloted the news fifteen seconds. *The New York Times* featured it on page 42. Economists were calm. A Citicorp vice president quoted by *The Times* preferred to focus on the number

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of jobs that have been created. The increase in the number of the unemployed, he said, was caused by the fact that more people, especially women, were looking for new jobs than there were new jobs for them to find.

Anyone remember the 1960 Kennedy-Nixon race? Repeatedly, J.F.K. skewered the hapless Nixon with the economic failures of the Eisenhower Administration, much as two decades later, Reagan assaulted Carter and then Mondale for their mismanagement of the economy. According to the Kennedy indictment, growth was too slow in the 1950s and unemployment was "unacceptably" high. What was unacceptable in those naïve days? The rate in December 1960 was 6.6 percent. Liberals, even the economists among them, were worried. They remembered that during the bad Eisenhower years, marred as they were by three mild recessions, unemployment fluctuated between 4 percent and 7 percent, a much higher range than in Western Europe and Japan or during the Truman Administration.

What's appalling is Reagan's recent success as the bearer of only moderately good economic tidings. The intellectual bankruptcy of mainstream Democratic politics was dramatized by Walter Mondale's failure to make full employment a credible promise in the last election. In recent issues, David M. Gordon has been articulating a strategy of renewal for the left. Full employment is one of those unifying goals that could energize a progressive coalition of blue-collar workers, women, blacks, Hispanics and even displaced middle managers.

We will know that the left is breathing normally and taking nourishment when *The New York Times* puts unemployment on the front page and Dan Rather gives the bad numbers two whole minutes. ROBERT LEKACHMAN

Robert Lekachman is the author of Greed Is Not Enough: Reaganomics *(Pantheon).*

The Tumbrels Roll

There seems to be no limit to the U.S. Supreme Court's drive to get on with the death penalty. Recently, the Court allowed the State of Texas to kill Doyle Edward Skillern by injection even though the Justices were, and technically still are, weighing the legality of that method of execution.

It's not the first example of the Court's eagerness to get the tumbrels rolling, just the most flagrant. In December, by a 5-to-4 vote, the Court permitted Georgia to execute a black man even though a lower Federal court had yet to decide whether the state's capital punishment law discriminates against blacks. In a case earlier this month, the Justices did not even insist on a majority vote; splitting 4 to 4, they let Georgia send another man to the electric chair. In neither case did the Court bother to explain itself.

The Court's refusal to block those two electrocutions reflected its tendency to proceed without caution. With Skillern, the Justices' action suggests utter disregard for that simplest notion of fairness in capital cases: a condemned prisoner ought to be entitled to live while a court resolves his legal claims, especially when he is challenging the method of execution about to be inflicted.

It's not that the Court thought Skillern's claims were frivolous. He was one of eight inmates on death row who in 1983 sued to force the Food and Drug Administration to determine if the lethal drugs used in executions caused "agonizingly slow and painful deaths." It may have been a bizarre idea for a lawsuit, but a Federal appeals court thought otherwise. The court agreed with the inmates and ordered the F.D.A. to investigate the claim. After the F.D.A. appealed, the Supreme Court decided to take the case. It could have summarily reversed the lower court but thought the issue important enough to warrant full consideration. The Justices heard arguments on December 3 and presumably will rule before July.

The six-Justice majority rejecting Skillern's request for a stay gave no explanation for its decision. Justice William J. Brennan Jr. was not so reticent. In a searing dissent he wrote, "The irony of this Court's . . . action will not be lost on the public, when we ultimately issue a decision to a plaintiff no longer able to receive it."

That is doubtful. Capital punishment is not news these days. There were five executions in the last month, and the total for 1985 could be the highest since the 1950s. We are a nation hellbent on vengeance. Death at the hands of the state has become banal, for Justices and public alike.

So be it, perhaps. We may leave debate about the morality of the death penalty to another day. But the strange happenings in the Skillern execution should trouble anyone who believes that fair procedures are a constitutional right—even for convicted murderers. Should we not expect at least that from the highest court in the land?

DAVID A. KAPLAN

David A. Kaplan writes for The National Law Journal.

FOLLOW-UP: THE WALKER CASE

On January 17, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit heard arguments that new evidence in the case of convicted murderer James Dean Walker [see Amy Singer, *The Nation*, December 11, 1983, and February 11, 1984] raises a reasonable doubt that Walker is guilty of murder and thus justifies a retrial. It was the fourth time the court's judges have heard an appeal in the case. The evidence—most central, a tape recording on which Walker's companion on the night of the murder admits having fired the fatal shots—raises additional doubts about the fairness of Walker's first two trials. The circuit court has wavered between granting Walker a third trial and preserving the notion of finality in appeals cases. Given this evidence, they should grant Walker the new trial he deserves.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MINORITY REPORT.

CHRISTOPHER HITCHENS

When American citizens are murdered in foreign countries, there is a Richter scale of indignation which monitors varying levels of outrage and protest. Should the killers be "terrorists" or some other kind of properly constituted enemy, the needle goes off the graph. Should our fellow countrymen or -women be slain by "our side," or with American weapons provided to "our friends," there is confusion. Every C.I.A. station loathes the press because the last thing it wants is a reporter whacked out by a pro-Western goon squad. Somoza's regime never recovered from the shooting of a cameraman on prime time. And when four churchwomen were raped and butchered by the American-trained army of El Salvador, the Reagan Administration managed to suggest that they were terrorists, that they had been killed by the left and that they were victims of a misunderstanding, all at the same time.

For decades, one of the most sought-after newspaper prizes has been the George Polk Award. George Polk was the CBS correspondent in Greece during the civil war there, and in May 1948 he was found dead in Salonika harbor. He had been on his way to interview Gen. Markos Vafiades, the commander of the Communist forces; the American advisers then implementing the Truman doctrine were at pains to suggest that he had been murdered by the left. At home, a committee of leading American writers was formed under the chairmanship of Walter Lippmann. Its members included James Reston, Marquis Childs and Eugene Meyer, chairman of the board of *The Washington Post* and father of its present proprietor. The committee nominated Gen. "Wild Bill" Donovan, the former director of the Office of Strategic Services, to conduct its investigation. By the time he arrived in Greece, the Security Police were already flourishing a confession from a left-wing Salonika journalist. Donovan decided to accept the authorities' version of the incident, despite misgivings expressed by Polk's family, who recalled that he had received threats from right-wing death squads.

Sound familiar? So does the sequel. Last month in Athens, a book was published titled *The Polk Affair: My Personal Testimony*. The author, Grigoris Staktopoulos, is the man who spent twelve years in prison for Polk's murder. He relates in hideous detail how he was tortured into confessing. He presents a mass of documents and testimony to show how the trial and the investigation were rigged. The foreword to his book, written by former conservative Prime Minister Panayotis Kanellopoulos, compares Staktopoulos to Dreyfus. It is only a matter of time until, like Dreyfus, he is given a full judicial pardon.

Where will this leave the George Polk Awards and all the members of the American journalistic establishment who commissioned General Donovan to find that Polk was a cold war martyr to the Communists? Even at the time, the eagerness of American officials to accept the word of the Greek right was distinctly suspicious and self-serving. Col. James Kellis of the U.S. Air Force, Donovan's chief investigator, wrote, "I collected other information that contradicted the official investigation and reported to General Donovan that I believed there was an attempted right-wing cover up . . . many of our officials here were concerned that if the extreme right committed this murder and were discovered . . . it would upset our aid program to Greece." Colonel Kellis was "caught," like so many in his position before him, "between what I thought was the truth and our national and personal interest."

He was also caught between the truth and an outraged U.S. Embassy. The chargé d'affaires, Karl Rankin, told Kellis to keep his mouth shut and to understand "the need to pin this murder on the Communists." C.I.A. agents Christopher Freer and Robert Driscoll did the same. Finally, Kellis was recalled to Washington and his misgivings were shelved. Not until 1978 did he make a sworn statement, at the Greek Consulate in New York City.

But even before that, material was available that indicated the U.S. government knew more than it cared to admit. Papers discovered in the National Archives in Washington and released by the Greek journalist Elias P. Demetracopoulos in 1976 include a letter from Smith Simpson, labor attaché at the embassy in Athens, to Loy Henderson, then director of Near Eastern Affairs at the State Department. The letter, written almost a year before Polk's murder, reported, "I had the principal communist trade union leader in to see me day before yesterday, and in the course of our amicable conversation he suggested that it would not surprise him if the Greek government disposed of some Americans in order to justify further repressive measures."

Even at the time, another group of U.S. journalists—more aggressive in their search for the facts—pressed for the investigation to be reopened. *The Nation* editorialized more than once to the same effect. But silence was what the authorities wanted, and silence was what they got.

And silence has been the rule until now. Anthony Cave Brown, who wrote the authorized biography of Donovan, *The Last Hero: Wild Bill Donovan*, and published it with Times Books in 1982, does not even mention the Polk affair. I have telephoned James Reston and Marquis Childs to invite their reaction to the Staktopoulos book and have been told by both of them that they can't remember anything about the committee on which they sat (though Reston was sympathetic and expressed the wish that restitution be made). My repeated telephone calls to the press office at CBS, inviting them to comment on these latest disclosures about their brave reporter's murder, were met with apathy amounting to rudeness. But this amnesia and indifference is unlikely to survive the wider dissemination of Staktopoulos's memoir. An American correspondent was murdered, almost certainly by those who were complicit with the United States in a brutal counterinsurgency campaign. A big lie was told, and an innocent man was tortured and imprisoned. The cold war, which began in Greece, hasn't changed much. Nor have the methods used to wage it.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ARTICLES.

UNILATERALISM

A Way to Break The Arms Deadlock

JOHN TIRMAN

The prospects for productive arms control negotiations were little changed by last month's meeting between Secretary of State George Shultz and Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko. The Reagan Administration's hostility to equitable weapons cuts, to a ban on testing antisatellite weapons and to prohibitions on defensive systems like his Star Wars proposal, makes any progress in the talks that begin next month in Geneva unlikely. The fear of appearing to be outmaneuvered at the bargaining table by the Russians will also inhibit the American delegation.

Given that pessimistic outlook, a dramatic initiative, one which would bypass the frustrations of bilateral negotiations, is needed. The most promising approach to arms control is unilateralism.

Unilateralism is not a new idea, but it has not received the consideration it deserves. The very word provokes derision. It is taken to imply that the United States will forgo this or that weapons system without getting anything in return. The phrase "unilateral disarmament" has been a whipping boy of politicians for a generation. The arms rivalry with the Soviet Union and the arms control process in its wake have conditioned U.S. policy-makers to think narrowly about security. Two misconceptions have guided them: strength is possible only through military expansion, and arms limitation is possible only through negotiation. The recent history of superpower relations shows how erroneous those ideas are.

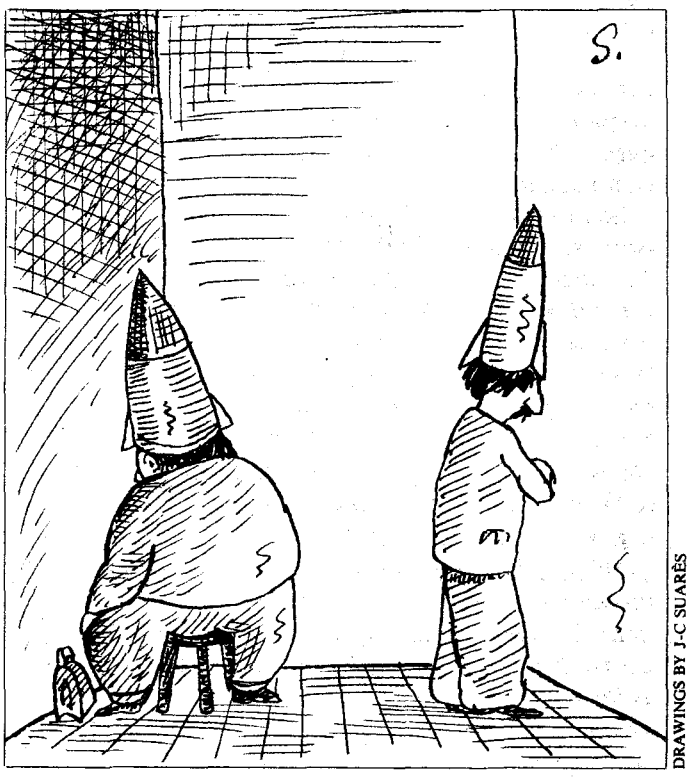
The SALT process is the most vivid, and depressing, example. The Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, begun in 1969, were aimed at halting the arms race dead in its tracks. The talks did achieve the 1972 ABM Treaty, which arrested the development of strategic defenses, but attempts to limit offensive weapons fared poorly. As George Kennan puts it, each side sought to "retain a maximum of the weaponry for itself while putting its opponent to the maximum disadvantage." A ban on the most advanced offensive technology of that time—multiple, independently targetable re-entry vehicles, or MIRVs—was vetoed by Henry Kissinger, partly because the Pentagon opposed it. Kissinger's "back channel" to the Kremlin did not curb submarine-launched missiles adequately either, but the key outcome of SALT I was the failure to ban MIRVs, particularly given the Soviet Union's large lead in land-based missile launchers.

John Tirman is the senior editor at the Union of Concerned Scientists and a co-author of The Militarization of High Technology *(Ballinger).*

The result of that process, including Kissinger's misrepresentation of the treaty before Congress when he testified that it placed limits on the modernization of Soviet missiles, which was not in the agreement, hampered arms control efforts for the rest of the decade. Critics seized on the discrepancies between what Kissinger said the Russians had agreed to and what they actually had agreed to; they discredited the entire process by accusing the Russians of cheating and sounded alarms about America's declining global stature. From 1972 to 1979, the SALT II pact was hammered out, but it too set generous limits on intercontinental ballistic missiles and was greeted without enthusiasm by both the left and the right. The two pacts gave birth to awesome new weapons. In exchange for the Pentagon's support of SALT I, President Nixon promised it the B-1 bomber and the Trident submarine; the price for SALT II was the cruise missile program.

The Pentagon, the Los Alamos and Lawrence Livermore weapons laboratories and hawkish elements in Congress and elsewhere in the Washington bureaucracy have an institutional interest in seeing the arms control process bogged down. Their obstructionism was evident during the 1957-63 test ban negotiations; it prevented a ban on MIRVs in 1969, as I noted; and it continues to impede all weapons negotiations. Advances in weapons technology continue at a startling rate, easily outpacing diplomatic efforts to bring nuclear arms under control. The entire process appears to be a recipe for failure.

Unilateralism could improve on this dispiriting record in three ways. First, the United States could move to eliminate destabilizing weapons and provocative doctrines. Second, it



DRAWINGS BY J-C SUARÈS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

could announce unilateral steps—for example, reductions in the size of the nuclear arsenal—with the proviso that they would be canceled if the Russians did not reciprocate. Third, it could propose moratoriums on the development of new technologies, like antisatellite weapons, as a basis for agreements that would ban such systems permanently.

Let us consider the unilateral actions that could be taken in the area of technology and doctrine. Arms control is nothing more than a set of decisions on the development and use of technology, guided by the dual criteria of preserving national security and reducing the likelihood of war. Some technologies are destabilizing, others can increase stability. Satellites, for instance, expand reconnaissance capability, including verification of arms control compliance. Weapons development is sometimes guided by doctrine, which envisions how a nuclear war might be waged and the types and numbers of weapons thereby required in the nation's nuclear forces—what is known as the force structure. From the 1960s on, nuclear doctrine has drifted steadily away from mutually assured destruction, the popular conception of deterrence, to warfighting, the ability to persevere in a prolonged conflict. Doctrine, force structure and new technology make up a trinity. Each component shapes the others, and each, in different ways, is susceptible to unilateral restraints.

Changes in doctrine, for example, could curtail provocative deployments of nuclear weapons without sacrificing their deterrent value. To achieve that dual mission one must transform, however subtly, the configuration of forces and the rules of command.

One such idea calls for the United States to declare a policy of "no first use" of nuclear weapons. Current doctrine approves the use of tactical nuclear weapons to repel a Soviet invasion of Western Europe. But any "local" nuclear battle is almost certain to escalate into a global conflagration. A prudent alternative, proponents of a no-first-use doctrine say, is to beef up conventional forces and eliminate nuclear weapons.

The adoption of such a policy would be more than a mere declaration of intent, its adherents maintain; it would change NATO strategy in Europe. McGeorge Bundy and Robert McNamara have urged the adoption of some supplementary measures: for example, pulling back forward-based nuclear arms in Europe to eliminate the "use 'em or lose 'em" mentality.

The no-first-use concept has several advantages. The argument against basing nuclear weapons near Soviet bloc borders is compelling and applies to the Pershing 2 missiles in West Germany. Those missiles have no military value, yet if a conventional conflict broke out, their forward basing could raise the stakes irreversibly.

A revision of doctrine could also change the makeup of U.S. strategic forces. Now the Pentagon is shifting to a nuclear warfighting strategy. The goal of this new doctrine is to "prevail" in a nuclear war, which requires a substantially larger and more diverse nuclear force, including the MX, the Pershing 2 and the Trident missiles. Doctrine thus militates against unilateral restraint.

But if the doctrine was changed—if the United States returned exclusively and unequivocally to a second-strike deterrent—it could forgo the production of the MX, for example. The case for that ten-warhead missile has never been made convincingly. Even the Scowcroft commission advocated production of the MX more to signal America's "political will" than because of its strategic merits. The missile is a silo-busting, first-strike weapon, and since it cannot be lodged in attack-proof silos, it is destabilizing. In a crisis, the Russians would be tempted to destroy the MX before it destroyed them.

The arguments against the MX are now widely accepted (Congress has nearly voted down the program twice) and lead to an obvious conclusion: Don't build it. Yet the domestic political costs of canceling a major weapons system are prohibitive. Jimmy Carter discovered how well organized the arms lobby is when he ended the B-1 bomber program in favor of more sophisticated alternatives, cruise missiles and "stealth" technology. Whereas shifting doctrine is noticed principally by the cognoscenti, sacrificing a big weapon amounts to a public hanging.

A decision to scrap the MX would be more salable in Congress if it was part of force restructuring, replaced by another ICBM—specifically, the Midgetman, a single-warhead missile. One thousand Midgetman missiles are less vulnerable to a surprise attack than 1,000 warheads on a hundred MX missiles. Midgetman is a fearsome weapon; like the MX, it has a counterforce capability. But adopting it would be a step toward greater stability.

If the United States was serious about maintaining a stable deterrent, it might station all missiles on submarines, where they would be safe from a Soviet ICBM attack. That is not politically palatable, however, because of the different services' investment in the strategic triad. So modest propositions like Midgetman-for-MX must remain at the top of the pragmatic unilateralist's agenda. The potential value of force management and of attendant shifts in doctrine should not be underrated just because they are taken unilaterally or, indeed, incrementally: the replacement of MIRVed missiles by the Midgetman would be a gigantic achievement.

Unilateralism is inherently limited, however; the arms race is, after all, bilateral. The United States can go only so far in reforming or reducing its atomic firepower, including a shift to Midgetman, without a show of equal restraint by the Russians. What sort of reciprocal measures could be taken?

Among the proposals for reciprocal gestures now in circulation are those gathered under the rubric "deep cuts." Kennan, for one, has called for an immediate 50 percent reduction in nuclear arsenals on both sides. "Whether the balance of reduction would be precisely even—whether it could be construed to favor statistically one side or the other—would not be the question," he wrote in 1981. "Once we start thinking that way, we would be back on the same old fateful track that has brought us where we are today." There have since been many variations on Kennan's theme, and the idea has gained popularity even among hard-nosed national

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

One Problem You Can't Walk Away From.

If you live in Eritrea or Northern Ethiopia, you're among the 6 million hardest-hit victims of war and a devastating famine. You would walk away if you could, but you're too weak . . . and there's no place to go.

Relief aid through the Ethiopian government doesn't reach you. And leaving your own land means abandoning the chance to rebuild. But staying—if there isn't any help—means death.

If you're **Grassroots International**, you can't walk away, either. We get direct aid to the people who need it most. We help them stay on their land by providing oxen, tools and seeds. And we expose the facts of hunger and its causes.

That's why we help the Eritrean Relief Association and the Relief Society of Tigray bring food to the hungry where they live. And why we organized the press tours that got this story out—so you won't walk away, either.

GRASSROOTS INTERNATIONAL

PO Box 312
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139 USA
(617) 497-9180

Please don't walk away! Send your help right now.

Please rush my tax-deductible contribution of $ _____ to help those who can't walk away.

☐ I would like to be a local volunteer.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ St. _____ Zip _____

Organization _____ Phone _____

Cut and mail this coupon to:

Grassroots International, P.O. Box 312, Cambridge, MA 02139

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

security analysts, who admit that the superpowers' arsenals contain more than ten times the force needed for deterrence.

Deep cuts are probably unacceptable to the U.S. and Soviet military establishments, however, and it is there that barriers to such reductions would be erected. Intercontinental ballistic missiles and long-range bombers are the family jewels of the American and Soviet militaries; they are, indeed, what makes them superpowers. The strategic arsenal is the most obvious target for arms controllers, but it is the least amenable to shrinkage. If force reductions are to be achieved, they must be preceded by a series of reciprocal arms control steps that serve as confidence builders, enhancing each side's sense of security. The most direct, immediate and effective set of initiatives of this sort are test bans, which constrain the weaponeers from building new generations of weapons.

Quantitative reductions are quite difficult to achieve because once weapons are deployed, neither side wants to remove them. Yet while the large numbers of weapons in the superpowers' arsenals is disconcerting, many arms analysts contend that qualitative improvements in those forces constitute a greater potential threat to peace than do quantitative increases. Since 1981, America has dramatically increased its procurement of microelectronic gadgets intended to improve accuracy and speed, evade detection, destroy hardened targets and the like. That policy reflects the military's realization that there are no targets in the Soviet Union that are not already covered by U.S. missiles, so improving quality is all that is left. Before weapons can be adopted, however, they must be tested under realistic conditions. Because tests are usually detectable, banning them is easier and more effective than proscribing specific weapons.

Test bans are also more amenable to a unilateral approach. The most significant test ban achieved to date—the Partial Test Ban Treaty of 1963—was the result of a unilateral initiative. For six years, Americans and Russians traded ideas for nuclear test bans while conducting on-and-off negotiations and on-and-off atmospheric testing. The breakthrough came with President Kennedy's commencement address at American University on June 10, 1963. That speech, intended to transform and soften U.S.-Soviet relations in the wake of the Cuban missile crisis, called for "early agreement on a comprehensive test ban treaty." The President announced, "To make clear our good faith and solemn convictions on the matter, I now declare that the United States does not propose to conduct nuclear tests in the atmosphere so long as other states do not do so." As a result of the momentum created by the American University speech, the Partial Test Ban Treaty was signed in Moscow on August 5. Whether it was due to the conciliatory language of the speech or to Kennedy's suspension of tests is hard to gauge, but the latter must have had a salutary effect.

Most remarkable was the ease with which the unilateral measures were set in motion. At a critical moment, President Kennedy simply declared a ban and challenged the Russians to reciprocate. He was confident that it could be verified and determined to use it as a catalyst to reach a formal accord. Such action required leadership, decisiveness, sound articulation and prompt implementation to outflank the omnipresent domestic opposition to any arms control accord.

There have been other unilaterally sparked accords, including the 1972 Convention on Biological Weapons, which resulted from Richard Nixon's declaration that the United States would not manufacture or stockpile biological weapons. There have also been less-publicized gestures and tacit agreements, like the steps to improve military communications between the superpowers, which tempered the climate for negotiations. Yet quiet diplomacy and tacit understandings, however welcome, do little to rein in arms competition. Bolder action is imperative.

A comprehensive test ban would be a good place to start. Few people doubt that the United States has the capability to monitor underground detonations, and the announcement of a unilateral ban could be accompanied by a challenge to the Russians to reciprocate within six months. If at any time the President felt it was in the national interest to resume testing, he could do so, preferably after giving advance warning. Canceling an informal ban is likely to engender much less political fallout than breaking a formal accord. Unilateral, reciprocated restraint is, as a result, more flexible as well as quicker to implement.

Test bans and moratoriums on deployments have been resisted in official circles because they deprive leaders of a favored ploy, the "bargaining chip." It has become common practice for the United States to build a weapon for the ostensible purpose of gaining leverage for Soviet arms concessions. That rationale was used to justify the MX missile and the antisatellite (ASAT) weapon. The chips are rarely cashed in, however. The Pentagon does not easily relinquish the weapons it develops, and the Russians, far from being coaxed to an agreement, tend to become more obstinate. President Carter's 1978 decision to develop the ASAT weapon as a negotiating incentive culminated in this Administration's declaration last March that the weapon was important to U.S. security and that, anyway, a ban on it would be extremely difficult to verify. The "two-track" approach, with Pershing 2s and cruise missiles as the chips, failed to halt the deployment of the Soviet SS-20s in Europe. Conceivably, an agreement to limit antisatellite weapons could be reached in the upcoming Geneva talks, but it would most likely be a limited one—for example, banning high-orbit but not low-orbit weapons (directed-energy weapons in a low orbit, though, could potentially destroy high-orbit satellites).

A major problem with formal negotiations is that they get stalled on compliance issues. When a treaty is negotiated, it contains byzantine rules and procedures designed to keep each party honest. Significant cheating rarely occurs, yet the demand that treaties be violation-proof results in complex rules that create more misunderstandings, which in turn erode confidence in arms control. Again, that is a vestige of the SALT process: Kissinger's exaggerated depiction of the restraints on the Russians in the SALT I accord gave rise to a cottage industry for discovering Soviet "violations." The allegations poisoned the political atmosphere and encouraged conservatives to demand impossible stand-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ards of verification. Verification will always be problematic, but informal accords can create strong disincentives against cheating because each side has the leeway to break out of the agreement quickly and resume testing.

Although unilateral, reciprocated restraint cannot entirely replace formal treaties—indeed, it should lead to them—it does offer a way to break the arms control deadlock and to skirt some domestic political roadblocks. It may be adopted on American terms and aimed at weapons systems, like ASATs and the MX, most threatening to peace. Once under way, unilateral and reciprocal measures could gather momentum and shore up confidence in the possibilities of arms limitation. □

IACOCCA'S UNTOLD STORY

Puncturing the Air-Bag Rule

GREG MITCHELL

In his best-selling autobiography, *Iacocca*, the president of the Chrysler Corporation characterizes himself as a "safety nut." Lee Iacocca argues strongly for the use of seat belts and claims that during his years as an executive of the Ford Motor Company he was an innovator in the field of automobile safety. There is no hint in the book that he played a key role in sabotaging the air bag when it came closest to reaching the public, in the early 1970s, and that behind the scenes, he was willing to sacrifice safety for profits.

We know this thanks to Richard M. Nixon's passion for tape-recording discussions in the Oval Office. A transcript of a secret meeting on April 27, 1971, between Nixon, Henry Ford 2d and Iacocca, who was then president of Ford, surfaced in a 1982 lawsuit against the auto company. It proves that Ford and Iacocca aggressively attempted to persuade the President to scuttle, or at least delay, the safety regulations besetting the auto industry. Iacocca did almost all the talking for the Ford side. The meeting, referred to briefly in a recent *60 Minutes* segment on air bags, is not mentioned at all in *Iacocca*.

Rumors about the meeting had circulated in Washington for years, but no one could confirm them. A House commerce subcommittee investigating delays in requiring passive restraints tried to obtain a transcript of the White House tapes in 1975 and again in 1980, but got nowhere. Attorneys for the subcommittee suspected that the conference, if it had occurred, constituted an effort to exert "improper, backdoor" influence on national policy. "We were checking into this," former Representative Robert Eckhardt, who chaired the subcommittee in 1980, told the *Los Angeles Times* recently, "because we were fighting what was apparently a rather underhanded way of avoiding the law."

What Iacocca and Ford wanted, the transcript shows, was for Nixon to quash a then-pending Federal regulation that would have required air bags on every new car, starting with the 1972 model year. (Iacocca had approached Secretary of Transportation John A. Volpe on the matter and had been rebuffed.) At the outset of the meeting, Nixon assured his guests, "You can talk to me in complete confidence. . . . And John [Ehrlichman, Nixon's chief adviser for domestic affairs, who was also present] is a lawyer who says nothing." Iacocca made it clear that the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration's proposed safety regulations, which called for the improvement of seat belts and auto bumpers as well as the introduction of air bags, would force Ford to increase its prices, which, in turn, would make its cars less competitive with Japanese models and hurt its sales. "We are in a downhill slide, the likes of which we have never seen in our business," Iacocca told Nixon. "And the Japs are in the wings ready to eat us up alive. So I'm in a position to be saying [to the Department of Transportation], 'Would you guys cool it a little bit? You're gonna break us.'" He also said, "Safety has really killed all of our business."

Iacocca found a sympathetic listener in Richard Nixon. "We can't have a completely safe society or safe highways or safe cars and pollution-free and so forth," Nixon replied. "The safety thing is the kick 'cause [Ralph] Nader's running around squealing about this and that and the other thing." Nixon noted that the "environmentalists" and "consumerism people" were interested only in "destroying the system."

Iacocca, the self-avowed safety nut, complaining at one point that those who favored air bags believed that

Greg Mitchell is co-author, with Pascal Imperato, of Acceptable Risks, *published this month by Viking Press, in which a portion of this article appears.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"the citizens of the U.S. must be protected from their own idiocy." Referring to those who say that the public wants safer cars, Iacocca told Nixon: "What do you mean they want safety? We get letters. We get about thousands on customer service. . . . We don't get anything on safety." Iacocca ridiculed the shoulder harness (now required on all new cars) as a "waste of money." He referred to the campaign to improve the strength of car bumpers (which he admitted were "fragile") as "this bumper craze."

Although his company had been calling for the adoption of a rule requiring an ignition interlock system (which would prevent a car from starting until the driver's seat belt was fastened) rather than the air bag, Ford told Nixon customers would probably get around that rule by taking their cars to garages and having the device disconnected.

By the end of the thirty-five-minute meeting, Iacocca and Ford were giving Nixon and Ehrlichman tips on how to approach the Transportation Department about withdrawing the air bag rule and how the department could explain such a move to the public. "They could say, uh," Iacocca said, " 'because of further evidence,' or 'we want continuing discussions.' They could suspend it." Nixon was enthusiastic and promised to look into the whole matter.

"John is your contact here," Nixon instructed. Then, he denounced consumerists, who supposedly opposed all industrialization, with a vintage Nixonism: "[They think] the great life is to have it like when the Indians were here. You know how the Indians lived? Dirty, filthy, horrible." After offering thanks and appreciation, Ford and Iacocca left the Oval Office, accompanied by Ehrlichman.

The air bag rule was subsequently canceled by the Transportation Department, and it remains in limbo to this day. A 1976 report by the commerce subcommittee concluded that Ehrlichman, in a confidential memorandum, had ordered the department to kill the rule.

The tape of the April 27 discussion surfaced only after Henry Ford 2d's biographer, Victor Lasky, revealed in 1981 that the meeting had taken place. In 1982, attorneys for the parents of an Atlanta teen-ager who had died in the fiery wreck of a Ford Mustang, after it was hit from behind and its gas tank burst into flames, tried to obtain the tape from the National Archives in order to demonstrate that the auto company had opposed tighter safety standards in the early 1970s. They were told that the tape could not be released without Nixon's permission and that he would not give it. The former President was then subpoenaed, and he offered to let the attorneys transcribe the tape in lieu of a deposition. They accepted the offer, and in November 1982 the transcript was read aloud in an Atlanta courtroom. The plaintiffs also introduced into evidence a confidential Ford Motor Company in-house memorandum, circulated the day before the executives conferred with Nixon, which stated that a new gas tank safety feature under development would not be placed on cars until it was legally required, in 1976. (The Atlanta girl died in a 1975 Mustang.) The feature, called a flak suit, was a thick wall of resilient plastic that would coat the fuel tank. A jury awarded the girl's parents $9.3 million in 1982, and the Nixon tape was forgotten.

In the past decade only a handful of lives were lost due to safety shortcomings of automobiles introduced under Iacocca; however, tens of thousands of lives have been lost in the past decade that might have been saved had the 1973 air bag rule gone into effect. Michael Lemov, a Washington attorney who was chief counsel to the commerce subcommittee at the time of the 1975 investigation, has said that there is "no question" that the transcript of the White House meeting establishes that the Ford officials improperly influenced the air bag regulation process. "That conference, and what apparently flowed from it," says Ben Kelley, former senior vice president of the Insurance Institute for Highway Safety, "have made a very important contribution to the fact that, still today, Americans cannot buy air bag protection at any cost, in any car." □

SCARCITY VS. ABUNDANCE

A Dialectic of Two Cultures

WARREN I. SUSMAN

Historians, especially those associated with leftist or liberal politics in America, have generally attempted to explain the nation's history in terms of conflict: between social classes, between urban and rural worlds, between regions and sections, between ethnic and racial groups and, more recently, even between genders considered as cultural groups. Yet one of the most fundamental conflicts has seldom been noted. It is the clash between two cultures—an older Puritan-republican, producer-capitalist culture based on a vision of limits and restraint, sacrifice and savings, and a newer culture based on the possibilities of abundance and the virtues of fulfillment and gratification, which emerged in the late nineteenth century. Much of more recent American history can be seen as a profound clash between fundamentally different moral orders, a battle between rival perceptions of the world, different visions of life. This struggle has significance for an understanding of our history and perhaps a special (if often unacknowledged) meaning for left-liberal politics as well.

Any study of the culture of abundance begins with the obvious consequences of the new communications. It is not simply that inventions created abundance and made possible increasingly effective distribution. Consciousness itself was altered; the very perception of time and space was radically changed.

Perhaps no previous culture was as significantly shaped

Warren I. Susman is a professor of history at Rutgers University. This article is adapted from Culture As History: The Transformation of American Society in the 20th Century, *published this month by Pantheon.* *Copyright © 1973, 1984 by Warren I. Susman.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

by the available communications technology. New cultural forms developed; those that continued were reshaped repeatedly. At the same time, no other culture expended so much of its energy and resources discussing and analyzing communication. That became a characteristic of the culture itself. Observers began to wonder whether anyone could communicate at all. ("What we have here is a failure to communicate.")

Perhaps the most important result of the communications revolution was the creation of a new social order. Some historians and social scientists have spoken of an "organizational revolution." They have analyzed effectively the bureaucratization so characteristic of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Yet such organization (especially over national and international areas and markets) would not have been possible without transformations in communications. In large measure, the office and the office building are products of the new communications; they are unthinkable without the telegraph and telephone, typewriter and business machine, the elevator and the railroad.

Yet the organizational revolution's most important consequence was the establishment of a new social class. Historians are always inventing middle classes, but this one is of special significance because the culture of abundance was originally the culture of this new class. Defined in the simplest way, it is a class of bureaucrats—managers, professionals, white-collar workers, technicians, salespeople, clerks, engineers—generally people on salary rather than wages.

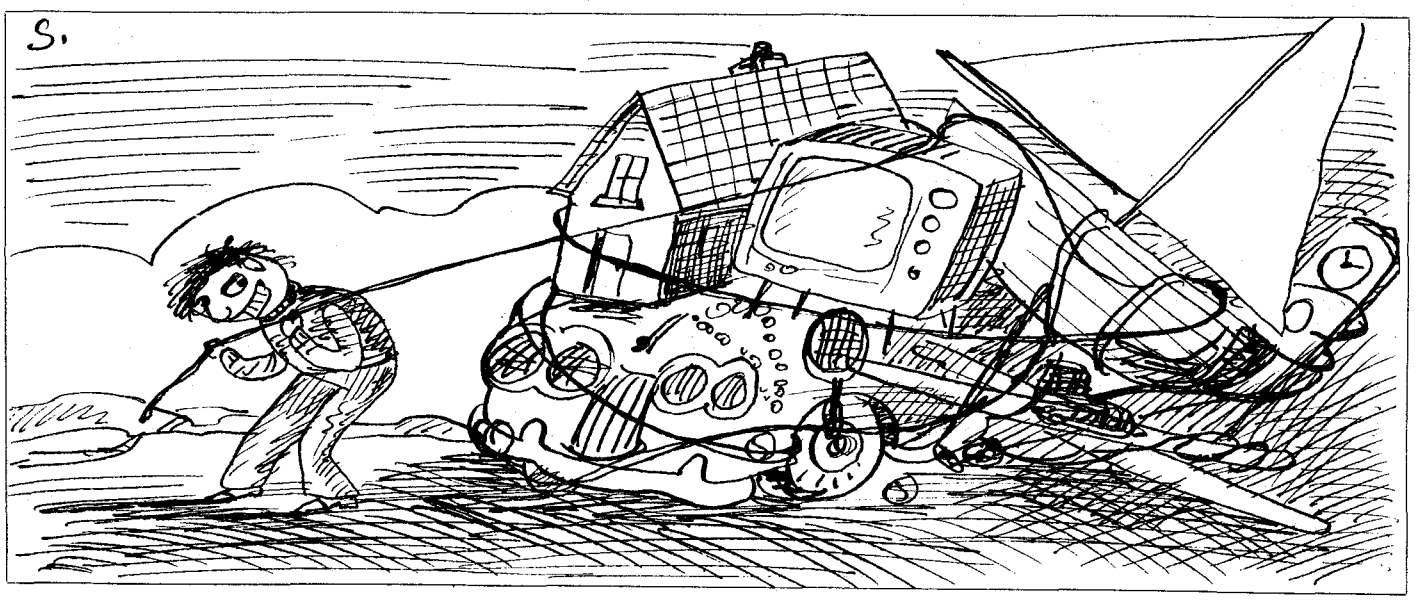
Here is a class undreamed of in our philosophy: John Locke imagined a world increasingly populated by freeholders, and Lockeans supposed for a long time that more and more people would share in owning property. Karl Marx and other radicals saw more and more property in fewer and fewer hands. They did not see the vaguest possibility of the emergence of a class that would attempt to hold power without holding property. Not all members of this class agreed politically; nor did the ideology they shared reflect a solid front on issues of power and its uses. Yet there was a common set of beliefs: their position in the social order affected their perceptions, consciousness and the way they performed in everyday life.

This middle class provided the inspiration for the psychological type that was to become the ideal for the new culture. The older culture—Puritan-republican, producer-capitalist—demanded something it called character, which stressed moral qualities, whereas the new culture insisted on personality, which emphasized being liked and admired.

The new middle class also helped articulate an ideology. Often, before an ideology can be fully stated, another one must be attacked and, if possible, destroyed. This helps explain the wholesale assault on American puritanism in the initial decades of the twentieth century. It also helps account for the large number of revisionist studies of the Founding Fathers and the Constitution in this period. Further, the search for a positivist ideology often led thinkers in the Progressive movement to turn away from Jeffersonian republicanism and seek a political version more material, more influenced by expertise, more "scientific."

Perhaps it is a mistake to talk about the Republic after 1900 in any traditional sense. Sometime during or after the Civil War, the Republic died and began to live more in rhetoric than in reality. The burgeoning of an enormous public bureaucracy with vast numbers of civil servants and experts making increasingly crucial decisions led to the emergence by the turn of the century of a state equal in kind to any in Europe. Americans might have pretended the Republic still existed when bureaucrats made more of the fundamental decisions affecting people's lives and fewer and fewer citizens exercised the right to vote, but it was clear that though older forms remained, a new polity was emerging as part of a new culture. "Leadership" became one of the key words in the late 1890s. Schools began to offer courses in it, and Presidents indulged in learned lectures about it.

Social training for leadership was but one side of the newly minted coin. The polity dwelt increasingly and lovingly on public opinion and sought ways to exploit it without



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

resorting to elections. Students of politics and public relations contributed to an interest in, and an understanding of, how to influence mass belief and behavior. In a world of personality and public relations (to say nothing of the new communications), the older republican vision seemed very remote.

It is in the context of this rapidly changing world that the culture of abundance can be understood. Was not this cultural order based on new and different assumptions—social, political, psychological, ideological—that developed in the very belly of nineteenth-century American society? Did not this order propose itself as an alternative to the existing order, providing a challenge resulting in a dialectical relationship between the two? Had not the doubling of per capita income in the United States between 1850 and 1860 important cultural consequences? And what of the huge surpluses of the late nineteenth century that raised serious questions about overproduction and underconsumption? Did not the study of everyday life suggest that even during the depression that ended in the 1890s many people began to dream of the possibility of a world based on fabulous plenty and new-found affluence?

Key words began to show themselves: plenty, play, leisure, recreation, self-fulfillment, dreams, pleasure, immediate gratification, personality, public relations, publicity, celebrity. Everywhere there was an emphasis on buying, spending and consuming. Advertising became not only an economic force essential in the regulation of prices but a vision of the way the culture worked: the products of the culture became advertisements for the culture itself.

All this seemed to stand in opposition to the traditional Puritan-republican, producer-capitalist culture which envisioned a world of scarcity (or at least one of significant limits), sacrifice, character, hard work and self-denial (economist William G. Sumner translated the last two as "capital" and "labor").

Perhaps the word "comfort" can supply an appropriate symbolic instance of such changes. Originally, as a verb, it meant "to sustain, to encourage, to give relief." "Comfort," as a noun, was precisely that which was given. Early sources of comfort included religion and whisky. James Fenimore Cooper wrote that frontiersmen called whisky Western comfort. And there are few objects as touching as the bags children and women made for Civil War soldiers. They contained buttons, needles, thread, a cake of soap and, above all, a little tract or a Testament. The soldiers universally called them comfort bags. Only in its listing of a sixth meaning, introduced in the nineteenth century, does *The Oxford English Dictionary* offer the more common contemporary usage of the word: "A state of physical and material well-being, with freedom from pain and trouble, and satisfaction of bodily needs; the condition of being comfortable."

Of course, Americans still get comfort from whisky and the Bible; it is still appropriate to comfort the poor, the sick and those who have lost a friend or relative. The older culture remains; however, we hold a more joyous vision of comfort, one which emerged with the new culture. In 1847, the "comforter" was patented, a thing of warmth and lightness, providing relief from the cold and a positive state of well-being and satisfaction. By the turn of the century, necessities turned into something slightly more than utilitarian or relief-giving: the "comfort station" was born.

All of this is meant to be broadly suggestive of the kind of transformations that took place. The environment in which people lived and worked was altered. I do not mean merely the factory and the city street, as significant as the changes that took place there were. The electric light actually changed the nature of night and one's sense of time. Chemically produced pigments made possible a world of color never before seen. Photography and new methods of printing flooded the world with images, the effects of which we are barely beginning to understand. A series of inventions created an exceptional world of sound, a culture transported through the telephone, phonograph, radio and talking pictures. Historians are well aware of the consequences of moving from a world of oral forms of communication to a literate world of print. But what are the consequences of a world of oral communication developing within a culture increasingly dependent on print? What is the effect of all the images bombarding the eye and of the sounds bombarding the ear?

In this environment, there developed an interest in the body itself. How the body looked and how it felt took on new importance. Significant alteration occurred in how people lived (the changing American diet) and how they died (different major causes of death), to say nothing about how and when they dined and how they were buried. The body had to be dressed and beautified in a world of fashion and cosmetics.

This culture had institutions that were to play special roles: department stores (palaces of plenty), restaurants, hotels, all specified a new way of life. But there were also bathing beaches, swimming pools and amusement parks; planned suburbs and the new profession of interior decorating. In fact, there was a new definition of "home." There were new entertainments and new ways of using old ones. There were new roles for women in the theater, for example, that had been virtually denied to them. There were new kinds of music, new rhythms, new dances, new musical institutions and new visions of the cultural role of music.

A multitude of cultural forms developed: the comics, the poster, the photograph, the phonograph, the telephone, the radio, moving pictures, advertising, pulp magazines and with them certain genres of fiction and nonfiction, and, perhaps most centrally, the automobile. Virtually every new popular cultural form inspired an opposition that urged its banning or at least its censorship. The movies were only the most sensational example. The organized hostility to the motion picture was as significant a phenomenon in our cultural history as was the temperance crusade, although a very different kind of struggle with different results.

To anyone committed to the values of the tradition, and therefore to hard work, self-denial and even sacrifice for the cause, the ideals of the new culture, with its emphasis on pleasure, self-fulfillment and play, might well seem offen-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE WORLD COURT AND THE RIGHT TO KNOW

An Open Letter to the American People

In his Inaugural Address January 20 President Reagan spoke eloquently of the great American ideals that he and his fellow-citizens must strive to uphold. Yet only two days previously the President had directed that the U.S. Government take no further part in the World Court proceedings dealing with Nicaragua's suit against the United States for violating international law by supporting paramilitary attacks by rebels in Nicaragua and by mining its harbors. This dishonorable boycott of the World Court betrays America's historic ideals for international peace and for the rule of law throughout the world. President Reagan is clearly a man of many contradictions.

As Anthony Lewis states in his excellent article on Presidential powers without accountability (*New York Times*, Op-Ed Jan. 21), "The Reagan Administration feared that the court proceeding would bring out the facts of its aid to terrorist activities and focus attention on its violation of treaties." Thus the U.S. withdrawal from World Court jurisdiction means that President Reagan is again trying to avoid accountability by concealing the truth and is violating the American people's basic civil liberty, *the right to know.*

Corliss Lamont, *Chairperson*
Edith Tiger, *Director*
Leonard B. Boudin, *General Counsel*

National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee

175 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10160

(212) 673-2040

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sively frivolous and anarchical. There is a vast literature of social criticism directed against "consumer culture" and the "therapeutic society." Surely both categories are part of any definition of the culture of abundance. Yet the terms deliberately limit the dimensions of that culture in ways designed to denigrate and criticize it. Virtually every critic of consumer or therapeutic society holds to an ideological position and to values representative of the older order. Whether Marxist radical or middle-class liberal, the critic of the culture of abundance brings to bear the Weberian vision of material possessions as an "iron cage"; a contempt for mass culture and its products; a dread of the "technological and bureaucratic organization of life"; a conviction that modern communications manipulates and distorts; a sense that the culture has brought with it a marked decrease in human freedom.

Our foremost historians of utopian thought, Frank and Fritzie Manuel, depict an important crisis in the early nineteenth century, "a crisis in man's capacity to find satisfaction in his work and emotional relationships." At least three great visions propelled some of the leading socialists of the period. Saint-Simon and his followers advocated a world socially engineered for the collective good, a society organized on principles of science to fit the needs of men and women as they really were. Charles Fourier called for an environment in which all could fulfill their desires, a world without repression that maximized libidinal gratification. And Marx sought a world in which it would be possible to wrest a realm of freedom from a realm of necessity.

Such ideals—if not the general and more specific proposals of those great socialists—were in some fundamental sense shared by the culture of abundance. At least some of the ends proposed were approached and achieved in that culture. If new problems arose, if the results did not produce a utopia, if a great many things went wrong, if we now question whether there were not serious dangers implicit in some of the efforts to achieve this vision of freedom and if, in the end, there are new kinds of determinisms, new necessities that frustrate any definition of true freedom, none of that negates the historical significance of the attempt. Marx and Engels could praise the achievements of the bourgeois overthrowers of the feudal order without being enthusiastic supporters of continued bourgeois domination.

Many who attack the modern world are clearly unhappy living in this century. They have little sympathy for anything that is for the masses, seeing always some sort of fascism or Stalinism around the corner. Not all of their accounts are simply polemical; often they are based on scholarship of high quality. For example, none of us cultural historians can fail to respect what the Frankfurt school accomplished and therefore enabled us to do. But often the works of scholars in this tradition, concerned and worried about hegemony in the late (we hope) capitalist order, speak from a position on the left but end up extolling the values and institutions of the older capitalist order of the nineteenth century.

Let me make my own position clear. Buying things (consumption) and getting professional help (therapy) do not represent things that are intrinsically wrong. Nor does entertainment enjoyed by huge numbers of people (mass culture). The culture of abundance is not largely the result of evil machinations to control and distort human life (I retain an initial sympathy for some of its values and dreams), and it would be a serious methodological error not to attempt first to understand the culture on its own terms.

Further, critics often make another serious methodological error. They assume that the world today (whatever its nature and however correct their critical evaluation) is the only consequence that could have followed from the world developing at the turn of the century. Therefore, they conclude, it must have been all bad from the start. No other view is possible if we look at where we are today. But that is simply bad history. If the culture of abundance has become manipulative, coercive, vulgar and intolerable in all the ways those critics would have it, why did this happen? Did it have to follow? Were there alternatives? Only a historical view—a vision of that culture as it developed and changed over time and in interaction with the traditional culture—can provide hope of getting at these crucial issues. Perhaps there is still hope for a radical rebuilding of the world on the ideological vision of a culture of abundance. Perhaps a proper socialist view must accept much of this vision. Only a careful study of history can provide us with the knowledge and the special insight to see whether that is possible. At the very least, the unfolding of the story of the developing dialectic between the two cultures might make America more open to analysis and understanding. □

Wrong Case

(*Continued From Front Cover*)

costs incurred by defendants have been a warning to others, inducing self-censorship and reducing the flow of information to the public.

Sharon's suit, that of Gen. William Westmoreland against CBS and all the other actions brought by public officials are not attempts by individuals to win restitution for personal wrongs. They are attempts to vindicate their political positions and their conduct in office—to rewrite history. Whether Sharon or the political coalition he represented bore responsibility for the Beirut massacres should not be determined in a U.S. court. The Founding Fathers never intended America's courts to be used to settle political questions, especially not those of another country.

To make his point, General Sharon pounced on a minor error in *Time*'s story about the final report of Israel's Kahan Commission. The commission had found the general "indirectly responsible" for the killing of several hundred Palestinians living in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps. David Halevy, *Time*'s correspondent in Jerusalem, testified under

Martin Garbus, a New York trial lawyer, is the author of Ready for the Defense *(Farrar, Straus & Giroux). He has taught at Yale and Columbia University law schools and is a former associate director of the A.C.L.U.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ANNOUNCING:

THE NATION FACT-FINDERS TOUR TO ISRAEL*

MAY 18–JUNE 2

Find out for yourself what's going on in Israel and the Occupied Territories. Join The Nation Fact-Finders for a thought-provoking journey to the heart of the Middle East.

Leading the tour will be Arthur Samuelson, editor at Summit Books and a former editor of *New Outlook* magazine in Israel. Samuelson has written on Israel for *The Nation*, *Saturday Review*, *The Progressive* and *Inquiry* and most recently edited Abba Eban's *Heritage*.

HIGHLIGHTS

Last June, The Nation Fact-Finders visited Israel and returned with an enriched understanding of the Arab-Israeli conflict and of Israeli and Palestinian society. Tour participants met with many Israelis and Palestinians including: Labor Member of Knesset Abba Eban, Likud MK Ehud Olmert, feminist and civil rights activist MK Shulamit Aloni, Director General of the Foreign Ministry David Kimche, Mayor Elias Freij of Bethlehem, deposed Mayor Karim Khalaf of Ramallah, author A.B. Yehoshua, Bir Zeit University Prof. Salim Tamari, and researcher Meron Benvenisti. Here's what some Fact-Finders veterans had to say afterward:

"It was a wonderful, stimulating and informative trip. Within Israel the selection of speakers was much more balanced than I expected."
Arthur Meth, San Diego, California

"On the whole this trip was nearly perfect. . . . I learned a great deal from it."
Jennie Baer, Deerfield Beach, Florida

"THIS WAS AN EXCELLENT TOUR!"
James and Colleen Kelly Johnston, Wichita, Kansas

- **Meetings with top government and opposition leaders.**
- **A firsthand look at conditions in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, including:**
  —Meetings with Jewish settlers.
  —Meetings with prominent Palestinians.
- **An examination of Israel's security needs, including:**
  —A point-counterpoint on the invasion of Lebanon.
  —A visit to the northern border and the Golan Heights.
- **Seminars with peace movement activists.**
- **Seminars and/or on-site exposure to other important aspects of Israeli society and politics, including:**
  —The economy: problems and solutions.
  —Anti-Semitism and the Holocaust.
  —The Arab minority in Israel.
  —The Ashkenazi-Sefardi gap.
  —Religion: orthodoxy vs. pluralism.
- **A sampling of the area's natural, historical and cultural wealth, including:**
  —A visit to Massada, a walking tour of the Old City of Jerusalem, a concert in Tel Aviv and a night at the guest house of Kibbutz Nof Ginossar, on the shores of the Sea of Galilee.
  —Plenty of free time to explore on your own.
- **Optional trips to Egypt or the Sinai Desert.**

*PLUS JORDAN

We are also offering an optional three-day add-on visit to Amman, the capital of Jordan, for an additional $350 per person. The visit will include meetings with government officials and Jordanian and Palestinian intellectuals and some sightseeing.

Price: $2,500 per person (same as last year). This includes accommodations (double occupancy in first-class hotels in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv), all meals (except some lunches and dinners), airfare to and from New York City, comprehensive background reading material and all transportation, sightseeing and related costs while in Israel. We are offering a 5 percent individual discount to Nation Associates.

Space is limited, so plan ahead. Send a deposit of $200 per person to guarantee your place on the tour. All deposits are due April 1. (Make checks payable to RG Travel). Or send us the attached coupon for more information.

SEND TO:
The Nation Fact-Finders
c/o RG Travel
5 Beekman St., Suite 424
New York, NY 10038

☐ Enclosed is my deposit of $_____ for _____ person(s).
☐ Please send me more information on The Nation Fact-Finders Tour to Israel.
☐ Check here if you are a Nation Associate.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____
Phone _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

oath that several confidential sources told him that Sharon had a more direct involvement in planning the massacres. Midway through the trial, the magazine conceded that it had erred in reporting that allegations of Sharon's complicity appeared in the secret Appendix B of the commission's report, but that was an inconsequential mistake, one small detail in a single paragraph that was part of a long, devastatingly accurate story. Nevertheless, two of six jury members at first believed that *Time* was guilty of malice, that Halevy was "out to get" Sharon. If the jury foreman hadn't argued them out of that view, *Time* might not have been acquitted.

To be fair, the jury had an impossible task. In his meticulous sixty-six-page charge, Judge Abraham D. Sofaer asked them to determine not if *they* thought the key paragraph was defamatory or false but if "the average reader" would think so. They were asked to evaluate the "state of mind" of the senior editor who wrote the article, the state of mind of the numerous people who edited it and also what *Time*'s words implied to the average reader. Those questions were difficult enough, but the jurors were also expected to ascertain who was responsible for massacres that occurred in Lebanon more than two years ago. Make no mistake about it: that was the key issue they had to resolve, for if they believed Sharon was responsible, they would find *Time*'s story accurate.

On the question of malice, the jurors were instructed by Judge Sofaer to determine if *Time* had "exaggerated" the facts or "fabricated" them. They spent a total of forty-two hours poring over one paragraph. If a dozen writers spent the same amount of time attempting to come up with a description of Sharon's involvement, they each would produce many different versions, some that could be construed as exaggerations or distortions.

Twenty pages of the judge's charge were devoted to defining malice. Reading them is a painful experience. Although I have been a practicing lawyer for twenty-five years, specializing in libel law, I am not sure that I could apply the charge to the facts, and I am certain that a jury could not. Most of us understand malice as meaning ill will, spite or hostility. That is not how the Supreme Court defined it in the *Sullivan* case. A reporter can love the person he is writing about and still be found guilty of malice; he can hate the person and be found innocent. The jurors in this case were understandably confused about the concept of malice. Richard Zug, the jury foreman, said they entered the malice stage of the deliberations with "almost all of us in the question-marks category." That is too fragile a reed to support a free press.

The Sharon verdict does not increase one's confidence in the ability of even a properly instructed jury to comprehend present libel law. Moreover, people outside the profession have little idea how difficult it is for the media to establish and report the truth. Publishers bring out hundreds of books; television news programs present thousands of facts; newspapers publish complex stories under relentless deadlines. Reporters and writers are expected to locate the ultimate truth in a welter of controversial facts and charges. By definition, the stories most in need of protection by the First Amendment—those that expose wrongdoing or criticize the powerful—are the most likely to provoke litigation. The only way a publisher or news organization can be sure it will not be sued is not to publish controversial articles or books. The operative word is "controversial." Thus the chief effect of the recent flood of libel judgments has not been greater accuracy in the media but greater timidity. Free speech has been curtailed; the flow of information to the public has been diminished.

The most serious impact has been on investigative journalism, which has decreased in recent years. Most investigative reporting is anti-establishment. Although portrayed as leftist in origin, the scope is much greater. Journalists seek to reveal corruption in City Hall, to expose official lies about foreign policies, to uncover double-dealing in Washington. It is no surprise that expensive libel suits are often backed by conservative elements, which tend to support the power structure. Indeed, the media has become a prime target of the right—witness Senator Jesse Helms's call for a conservative takeover of CBS—and libel suits are a favorite instrument to attack it. Both Sharon and Westmoreland represent a specific political viewpoint. In Sharon's case, it is the rightist forces in Israel who support his political comeback; in Westmoreland's, it is conservatives in this country who hold that the Vietnam War was lost because of opposition on the home front.

Libel suits inhibit journalists by making them excessively cautious about having the facts. Obviously, they should base their reporting on the facts, but sometimes all the facts are not available because a government or a corporation refuses to divulge them. In such cases, journalists should be free to make inferences about public issues. During the Nixon Administration, the speculation and hunches of newspaper reporters led to the Watergate exposés. Skepticism about official statements on the progress of the Vietnam War drove the press to smoke out the facts that turned the public against the war. When the secret policies of the government were revealed in the Pentagon papers, many of the journalists' inferences were proved correct.

Reporters frequently rely on evidence that would not hold up in court—and that is proper. Take, for example, Strobe Talbott's *Deadly Gambits*, which describes secret arms negotiation talks in the Reagan Administration, and Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward's *All the President's Men*, which describes the events that led up to Watergate. Those books were pieced together by authors who were not at critical meetings; they were often based on fragmentary information and confidential sources. So long as authors explain their methodology and let their readers know the limitations of their research and sources, they should be permitted to draw even wrong conclusions without the threat of a libel suit hanging over them.

As the Supreme Court recognized long ago, in *Board of Education v. Barnette*, "compulsory unification of opinion achieves only the unanimity of the graveyard." As Prof. Lawrence Tribe of Harvard Law School put it, the genius of the First Amendment is its recognition that more speech is

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the cure for misleading speech. All that government may demand is that the dialogue be expanded, not that the offending remark be stopped or that the publisher be shut down.

Self-censorship often arrives insidiously. Editors, executives and attorneys who check manuscripts for libel problems are frequently evaluated on their ability to avoid lawsuits. The criterion for deciding to print a controversial article becomes not whether the company could successfully defend a libel suit; it is whether the plaintiff could keep it alive and force the company to bear the expense and burden of frivolous litigation. If the latter seems likely, the natural tendency is not to publish.

Publishers routinely deny that they kill articles because of the risk of libel, but the chilling effect is well known to lawyers who work with the media. Publishers who once asked me whether the target of an article could win a lawsuit now simply ask, Will he sue? More and more, I see unflattering adjectives removed, incisive analyses of people and events watered down, risky projects dropped.

Similar experiences are reported by other attorneys when libel issues are discussed. At a board meeting of the American Civil Liberties Union, a number of case histories of libel suits that led to self-censorship were analyzed. One publishing house canceled the second printing of a book and the paperback edition after being hit with a libel suit that was eventually shown to have no legal basis.

Those who sue for libel are usually large corporations or wealthy individuals—not cranks or ordinary people. Few attorneys will take a libel case on a contingency-fee basis. Lawyers for the networks and major publishers know how to run up litigation costs to try to drive the plaintiff from the courthouse. It is people like the owners of Rancho LaCosta resort, currently suing *Penthouse*—they claim they were wrongly identified as being connected with organized crime—who can afford to pay the fees lawyers usually demand to take on the likes of *Penthouse*. *Time* spent more than $1 million on its defense against Sharon; *Penthouse* has spent more than $20 million in the ten-year LaCosta suit.

One reason for the rash of libel suits and claims in the last few years is a more general litigation frenzy. It has encouraged individuals who fancy themselves defamed to peddle their grievances to groups (usually on the right) that will underwrite their expenses. Widespread negative feelings about the press have infiltrated the jury room, resulting in megaverdicts in libel suits. Juries have great discretion in deciding the merits of such cases and the amount of money to award.

After trying hundreds of cases before juries, I've learned that they are ruled by emotion. As a result, I am skeptical when I hear jurors give their rationales for a verdict. The jurors in the Sharon case were under great pressure to appear objective and meticulous; in the post-trial interviews they gave the impression that they had engaged in a dispassionate search for the truth. But some of their remarks revealed the prejudices that had erupted in the jury room. Why, for example, did the jurors feel obligated to state, "certain *Time* employees, particularly correspondent David Halevy, acted negligently and carelessly in reporting and verifying the information"? Who asked them? Why did juror Patricia DeLoatch say, in justifying the statement, "We didn't want *Time* to think they're so lily white that they don't make mistakes"?

Justice Hugo L. Black, in his opinion in the *Sullivan* case, wrote, "I doubt that a country can live in freedom where its people can be made to suffer physically or financially for criticizing their government, its actions, or its officials." His doubt does not appear to be uppermost in the minds of the majority of the American people, today's journalists or Supreme Court Justices. As a result the media continues to operate in a state of siege. Our Founding Fathers' vision of a free and vigorous press is in danger of being destroyed. Fidelity to their visionary document, the Constitution, requires that public officials be barred from bringing libel suits. □

April 4, 5, 6 **The 3rd Annual**

Socialist Scholars Conference

"The Left in Crisis"

Boro of Manhattan Community College, CUNY
199 Chambers St. (near Trade Center), New York City

Join . . . Ellen Willis • Bogdan Denitch • Harry Magdoff • Carol O'Cleireacain • Stanley Aronowitz • Ira Katznelson • Frances Fox Piven • Paul Sweezy • Michael Harrington • Dorothy Healey • Irving Howe • Barbara Ehrenreich • William Kornblum • Ruth Spitz • James Aronson • Eric Hobsbawm • William Tabb • and others

Sponsors/Participants (in formation): CUNY Ph.D. Program in Sociology, and *Dissent*, *Nation*, Institute for Democratic Socialism, Mid-Atlantic Radical Historians Organization, *Monthly Review*, *Social Policy*, *Social Text*, *Socialist Review*, *Telos*, CUNY Democratic Socialist Faculty Club, CUNY Democratic Socialist Graduate Student Club, and South End Press

Pre-registration: $15.00 Regular, $7.50 Student. Checks payable to "Socialist Scholars Conference." Mail to: CUNY Democratic Socialist Club, 33 West 42nd St. Rm. 901, New York, NY 10036. For more information, call 212-790-4320

'WERE THE ROSENBERGS FRAMED?'

This historic debate, which was sponsored by The Nation and The New Republic at New York City's Town Hall last October 20th, has been described as "a political-literary brawl" (Los Angeles Times), at which "a cheering, jeering crowd of 1,500 followed every jab in a fight over history" (The Washington Post).

The main participants in the debate were: Walter Schneir and Miriam Schneir, authors, Invitation to an Inquest; Ronald Radosh and Joyce Milton, authors, and Sol Stern, research assistant, The Rosenberg File: A Search for the Truth; and Elizabeth Holtzman, moderator. There were also questions and comments from Michael Meeropol, Morton Sobell, Marshall Perlin, James Weinstein, Victor Navasky and others.

A complete record of this extraordinary event can now be purchased in transcript or cassette. Transcripts are available for $24 each; cassettes are $19 each. There are special discounts on orders of five or more. Send check or money order, payable to The Nation, to: "Rosenbergs," The Nation, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011 (a project of The Nation Institute).

MSU LIBRARY
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS & THE ARTS.

Footnotes to History

JON WIENER

Two senior historians, one at Yale University and one at the University of California, Berkeley, have devoted their time and professional reputations over the past year to destroying the career of a young Marxist historian, David Abraham, whose book, *The Collapse of the Weimar Republic* (Princeton University Press), has been found to contain numerous errors. In the past, debates among scholars have occasionally been vicious, but the Abraham controversy is more than a debate: it's a vendetta, and it's unprecedented. Abraham's critics, led by Professors Henry A. Turner Jr. of Yale and Gerald A. Feldman of Berkeley, seek not just to expose Abraham's errors but also to make sure that he will never get another academic job and to persuade his publisher to withdraw his book; they've also argued that the University of Chicago should rescind his Ph.D.

Lawrence Stone, Dodge Professor of History at Princeton, comments, "I've never seen a witch hunt like this in forty years in two countries." Natalie Zemon Davis, Henry Charles Lea Professor of History at Princeton, has seen something like it before: "In some ways it's reminiscent of McCarthyite hysteria."

These events reveal much about the position of Marxism in the history profession today, about the debate between old-fashioned positivists and interpretive historians on where historical truth lies, and about the current state of ethics in academia.

In the course of researching and writing his book, Abraham misdated and misattributed one document, mistranslated another document in a way that distorted its meaning and treated a paraphrase of a third document as a quotation. He has also been accused of making dozens of lesser mistakes. Abraham has acknowledged his errors in print and has apologized for them. His critics, however, have not been satisfied. As historian Carl Schorske remarks, "They're not saying, 'Here's a serious error'; they're saying, 'Here's a lie, and I'll tell you why this guy lies.'" In accusing Abraham of fraud, his critics imply that he had to fabricate documents because his Marxist interpretation could not be sustained by the truth.

Stone, whose major work is in the hotly contested field of seventeenth-century English social history, disputes Feldman's claim that good historians do not make mistakes, especially in their archival research. "When you work in the archives," he says, "you're far from home, you're bored, you're in a hurry, you're scribbling like crazy. You're bound to make mistakes. I don't believe any scholar in the Western world has impeccable footnotes. Archival research is a special case of the general messiness of life."

Indeed, there is ample evidence that David Abraham is not the single bad apple in a barrel of virtuous footnoters. The publishers of the great British historian Sir Lewis Namier planned a second edition of his masterly *Structure of Politics at the Accession of George 3rd.* When editors checked the footnotes, Stone says, "I was told they found endless, constant, minor errors." Recently Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, France's most celebrated historian, has been criticized by the Vatican librarian for mistranslations and other errors in *Montaillou.*

Perhaps Abraham's mistakes are more serious than those made by other archival researchers? "I can't think of another case in which an author's footnotes have been systematically checked in the archives," Stone says. "David's errors seem at the moment to be worse than others', but we can't be sure because nobody else's have been subjected to this kind of systematic scrutiny." Feldman and Turner disagree; each reports that his own work has been checked and upheld.

The campaign against Abraham was begun by Turner, a bitter opponent of Marxist history who had been working for years on a defense of German businessmen in the period immediately preceding the rise of Hitler. Turner became furious after hearing Abraham's work praised at a March 1983 colloquium on Weimar history at Harvard University. He wrote a letter attacking the book and sent it, along with photocopies of original documents that he said Abraham had misquoted, to colleagues in the United States and West Germany. One of the recipients, Arno Mayer, Dayton-Stockton Professor of History at Princeton University, wrote Turner protesting his private campaign against Abraham. (See box. *The New York Times* obtained the letter from a source other than Mayer, and quoted two sentences in a story about the case. Here we publish the document in full.) Feldman, the author of *Iron and Steel in the German Inflation, 1916–1923,* who had read Abraham's manuscript and recommended it for publication, sided with Turner.

Turner went public with his campaign against Abraham in the October 1983 issue of the *American Historical Review.* In a letter alleging that Abraham had forged a document showing business support for Hitler in the last days of Weimar, Turner reminded his colleagues that forgery was "among the gravest of scholarly offenses." It's hard to remember such a serious charge being made against another historian.

Abraham then traveled to West Germany and found the document from which he had quoted. It had no signature and an imprecise date; he conceded in his *American Historical Review* response that his dating and attribution had been erroneous. Even those who agreed with Abraham's interpretation of Weimar felt that some of his research was sloppy and that his mistakes were not trivial. But there was a consensus that Abraham had successfully defended himself against the charge of forgery. Turner never apologized or offered a retraction for his allegations, and to many in the profession, he now looked like a man with an ax to grind: his own book had been pre-empted by a younger scholar whose Marxism he despised. At that point Turner ceded the front lines of the battle against Abraham to Feldman.

In 1982 Abraham had been recommended for tenure by the Princeton history department, but the dean's committee turned down the recommendation. Thus at the end of 1983, Abraham was on the job market, with a highly praised book, a dossier of references from prestigious historians and the dispute over his scholarly integrity resolved in his favor. It was then that Feldman

Jon Wiener is professor of history at the University of California at Irvine.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

began his campaign of letters and telephone calls to make sure that no university hired Abraham. His "Dear Colleague" letters were sent to dozens, perhaps hundreds, of historians in the United States and Europe. In its scope, methods and animus, the campaign is unprecedented in the history profession.

The University of Texas at Austin was the first of Feldman's targets. It invited Abraham for an interview but offered the job to someone else after hearing from Feldman. Then, after Catholic University's history department voted to recommend hiring Abraham, the department chair began receiving calls from Feldman—four or five in a two-week period, according to Prof. Timothy Tackett, a member of the search committee. "We were shocked," Tackett says. "All his calls were unsolicited. He threatened to go over our heads to the administration."

Among the unsolicited materials Feldman sent was a thirty-page attack on Abraham's scholarship, written by Feldman's former student Prof. Ulrich Nocken of the University of Düsseldorf. Back in 1976 Nocken had applied for the Princeton job that had been given to Abraham. The Nocken essay was "a diatribe," Tackett says. "Feldman told us it was forthcoming in the *V.S.W.G.*, a reputable journal. It was impossible to ignore, but hard to verify in the short time we had. We were fuming, miserable and outraged." Thirteen of the department's fifteen members signed a document urging the administration to go ahead and appoint Abraham, but the dean decided against their recommendation.

A year later, Tackett and many of his colleagues at Catholic University are still bitter. "Later we learned that the Nocken piece was rejected by the journal that Feldman said had accepted it," he says. "It never has come out; maybe it never will. We were the victims of a vendetta."

The University of California, Santa Cruz, was next. Abraham was a leading candidate for a position there when Feldman intervened. The pattern was the same—four or five telephone calls to the department over the course of a month, the typescript of Nocken's attack, the unsolicited letters and the threats from Feldman that if the department didn't follow his advice, he would oppose Abraham's appointment at higher levels, including the system's Board of Regents. "I made it clear," Feldman says, "that I was not going to have Abraham appointed in this university system." Santa Cruz hired someone else. But thirteen members of the department signed a letter addressed to the American Historical Association, protesting Feldman's interference. Formal charges against Feldman are also being brought by members of the department before the university's statewide academic senate.

Feldman also wrote Princeton University Press, Abraham's publisher, declaring that Abraham's book was "fraudulent and should be withdrawn from sale," and insisting that it not be advertised "on dust jackets, in journals, and in catalogues." If the press did not comply, Feldman wrote, "you should know that the request will be repeated by me in very choice company and . . . a further decision to continue marketing the book will be made a matter of public record in what I write."

Perhaps the most extreme development in the case thus far concerns Abraham's Ph.D. Feldman thinks the University of Chicago should rescind the degree, although he adds, "I have not made any such formal proposal up to the present time." Nevertheless, both the history department and the president's office at the university received at least some informal suggestions to that effect. Sometime later the president of the university, Hanna H. Gray, filed a protest with the American Historical Association, describing Feldman's actions as a violation of professional norms. Even if he has not yet made a formal proposal that Chicago strip Abraham of his Ph.D., Feldman has told me that he would be happy to join in such an action—especially if he continues to be "harassed" by Abraham's supporters charging him with unethical conduct.

Feldman's duty, as he sees it, is to alert the profession to what he views as Abraham's misconduct. Stanley Katz, Princeton Class of 1921 Bicentennial Professor of The History of American Law and Liberty, who joined in signing Gray's letter of protest to the A.H.A., disagrees. "Turner's letter to the

Arno Mayer's Letter to Henry A. Turner

March 31, 1983

Dear Henry:

I have your letter with enclosures. This is the second unsolicited missive to a member of this department concerning David Abraham's book. I very much regret these interventions which strike me as petty. David's monograph is in the public domain, and it certainly is your right and obligation to criticize it, as you have done in a review. But what is the purpose of your sniping at a young scholar who has published his first book, which is a significant if controversial contribution to an important debate in recent German history? After reading, interpreting, and contextualizing the three documents you enclose with your letter to me, I am inclined to think that David Abraham actually understates his case. Of course, I know that you reject Marxist analysis. But while your criticisms of "Marxists" who have secure positions are unexceptional and welcome—even if primitive and by now tiresome—don't you think that given your liberal professions you should think twice before casting aspersions on a young scholar whose future is not as secure as yours or mine? I cannot help but conclude that you vent your anger at David Abraham for daring to publish a book on a topic on which you yourself have been working for years. What the profession needs and expects from you is that long-promised study of the role of German industrialists in the Nazi rise to power rather than sniping attacks on young scholars who have the temerity to trespass on an intellectual territory that you declare to be your private preserve. As Joseph Welch asked in the McCarthy hearings of sad memory, "Sir, have you no shame? Have you no sense of decency?"

Yours sincerely,
Arno

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

American Historical Review gave the profession sufficient notice of the charges against Abraham," he argues. "It appeared well before any departments were considering hiring David. The burden is on those departments. If they consider it a problem, they may consult Turner or Feldman or others. Indeed they all were aware of the controversy and worried about it."

"It has yet to be shown that there's a single example of fabrication in Abraham's work," Katz continues. "But if there had been a genuine hurry to bring a real offense to the attention of the profession, those concerned could have contacted the appropriate A.H.A. division; they could have put something in the A.H.A. newsletter, which has a shorter lead time than the *Review*. The obligation in a case like this is to use the formal communication mechanisms of the profession. There's no evidence that Feldman even considered these possibilities. His method was calculated not to inform but to intimidate."

In response to those charges, Feldman is publishing a thirty-two-page attack in the journal *Central European History* this month. In his manuscript he writes that Abraham's "egregious errors, tendentious misconstruals and outright inventions" make the book a "menace to other scholars." He refuses to "dignify" Abraham's book with a discussion of its thesis. However, of the errors he attributes to Abraham, none are as serious as the misdated and misattributed document already discussed in the *American Historical Review*.

In a 107-page reply in the same issue, Abraham apologizes for his errors, which he terms "inexcusable"; he distinguishes the minor from the major ones; he argues convincingly that he neither fabricated documents nor systematically misconstrued them; and he points out a couple of errors in Feldman's critique. Feldman follows with a thirty-four-page rejoinder, terming Abraham's reply "an outrage" and "an insult to our profession." As for his own errors: "I have decided to forgive myself," he writes. Beneath the rhetorical smoke, Feldman quietly abandons several of his most serious charges, including fraud and forgery, without admitting he had been wrong.

Abraham's critics have also said that his "misinformation" begins with the dedication to his book: "For my parents, who at Auschwitz and elsewhere suffered the worst consequences of what I can only write about." His detractors point out that his mother, although imprisoned at Auschwitz, survived, and thus did not experience "the worst consequences." Arno Mayer's question "Have you no shame?" seems a particularly appropriate response to this criticism.

Many younger scholars see the vendetta against Abraham as a consequence of his Marxism, but it's more complicated than that. If Abraham had written a Marxist study of Weimar that didn't discuss the role of businessmen, Henry Turner wouldn't have bothered to check his footnotes. If he had written a Marxist theoretical essay on the Weimar state that didn't present archival evidence, Turner wouldn't have been interested. What aroused Abraham's critics was his having placed his empirical research on the politics of big business within a framework of Marxist theory.

Marxism is indeed an issue. The Nocken typescript distributed by Feldman alleges that Abraham follows the "official East German theory" of the rise of the Nazis by portraying industrialists as "mighty wirepullers" behind Hitler. (In fact, East German reviewers have attacked Abraham for "whitewashing the big bourgeoisie and its responsibility for barbarism and war.") Turner's new book, *German Big Business and the Rise of Hitler*, published this month by Oxford University Press, concludes with a diatribe against Marxist historians. He doesn't distinguish between the neo-Marxists who may be found in American universities and Soviet or East German historians. All seek "to discredit and undermine societies with capitalist economies and to legitimize repressive anti-capitalist regimes." Feldman, on the other hand, denies that he opposes Abraham because he is a Marxist. He did recommend Abraham's book for publication, and in the past, he has directed dissertations by radical students.

Abraham's critics have focused their outrage almost exclusively on his research concerning the relationship between big businessmen and Hitler. In doing so, they've missed the point of his book. It is not an analysis of the growth of Nazism but a structuralist study of the success and failure of capitalist democracy: of how German elites won popular support from socialist and Catholic organized labor, and how this accord failed in the face of the Depression.

"The collapse of the Republic and the Nazi assumption of power were by no means the same," Abraham writes in his conclusion. "That no stable ruling bloc could be organized under a democratic form of state did not, of itself, indicate that a fascist solution, whatever its nature, would follow." The fact that he focuses his research on structures rather than individuals has been widely praised in reviews and was the basis for the Princeton history department's decision to hire and then promote him.

The vituperative and wide-ranging attack on Abraham's book is, in fact, part of a larger debate between two kinds of historians—those who seek to identify broad levels of causation and those who confine themselves to a chronicle of events. The former group includes Marxists as well as structuralists, members of the Annales school and practitioners of cliometrics, all of whom seek to identify general causes beyond the acts and motives of individuals. As for the latter group: "Their attitude," Schorske says, "is that because their footnotes don't contain errors, their understanding of history is correct."

The rise of different schools of historical interpretation signals the decline of a monolithic profession presided over by an establishment of "old boys." Twenty years ago, if the senior men at Yale and Berkeley said an assistant professor was no good, that would have been the end of the matter. The fact that three departments were interested in hiring Abraham last year, despite the opinion of two senior men, and that one actually voted to hire him, helps a little to explain Feldman's frenzy.

Abraham wants Princeton University Press to publish a revised edition of his book in which he would correct the errors. Feldman argues there would be nothing left of the book; Schorske disagrees: "The defects in David's book are glaring and inexcusable, but they are remediable and without any substantial impact on the unfolding economic and political analysis. When all the errors are corrected, the argument will stand exactly; the historical configuration will not change; the interpretive logic of the book will be upheld."

The Abraham controversy has recently been reported in *The New York Times* and in *Time*. Feldman says that people "admire my courage in pursuing this

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

matter," and he is emboldened by this to call for a broadened effort to "clean up shop" in the history profession. Robert Tignor, chair of the Princeton history department, takes a different view of the consequences of the case's notoriety. He worries about its effect on young scholars: "The message is: Don't tread on the toes of established historians. Stay away from controversy. Don't take chances. The history profession is a sea full of sharks."

It's also full of decent people who have come to Abraham's defense. As of this writing, he is again being considered for jobs at good colleges. Carl Schorske explains, "David Abraham is a guy who understands historical processes and has a subtle and refined interpretation. That's the reason why one wants to save him for the profession." □

Tickets to the Past

KAREN ROSENBERG

THE BURN: A novel in three books (Late Sixties–Early Seventies). *By Vassily Aksyonov. Translated by Michael Glenny. Random House. 528 pp. $18.95.*

THE OLD MAN. *By Yuri Trifonov. Translated by Jacqueline Edwards and Mitchell Schneider. Simon & Schuster. 267 pp. $16.95.*

One of the burdens Soviet writers traditionally bear is a responsibility to represent their generation, and Vassily Aksyonov has long been a spokesman for his. His novel *Ticket to the Stars*, published in 1961, was lauded and attacked as a manifesto of the skeptical, forthright and impatient youth of the post-Stalin thaw. His later stories about love and the family were seen by Soviet and American readers as a sign that middle-aged Russians no longer sought fulfillment in the public sphere. After his *samizdat* novel, *The Burn*, appeared in the West, Aksyonov became an example in another sense: as the object of punitive harassment, which culminated in the revocation of his Soviet citizenship when he was abroad in 1981.

In *The Burn*, Aksyonov exposes aspects of his contemporaries that they would probably rather forget, particularly their Stalinist past. The son of Pavel Aksyonov, a party leader, and Eugenia Ginzburg, a university lecturer in Marxism-Leninism, Aksyonov was born in 1932 into the Soviet elite. The purge of 1937 sent his parents to prison and the camps on false charges; when, as a teenager, he joined his mother in exile in the frigid town of Magadan, he still believed that their arrest had been a fluke, a mistake. Through the character of Anatoly Apollinarievich Bokov, known as Tolya, Aksyonov explores this history.

A model student at Magadan High School and a member of the Komsomol and the basketball team, Tolya studies academician L.I. Timofeyev's sanitized handbook on Russian literature behind a screen that separates him from political deportee Sanya Gurchenko and from his own stepfather, Doctor Martin, "a German, a prisoner, a homeopathist, and a Catholic!" Despite his symbolic separation from the two, Tolya admires Gurchenko for being as cool as the Ringo Kid in *Stagecoach* and is proud that Martin takes genuine pleasure in curing the sick.

Relentlessly, pointedly, Aksyonov drives home Tolya's ambivalence. His hero forms crushes both on the daughter of a colonel in the Directorate of the Northeastern Corrective Labor Camps and on a mysterious prisoner whom he meets in the snow. Even after his Jewish origins have been revealed and he's been given his grandfather's name, von Steinbock; even after state security police Captain Cheptsov has arrested his mother and called him a "whore's brat" and worse; even after he's seen Cheptsov ram Gurchenko in the eye with an elbow during an interrogation, Tolya still keeps a place in his heart for the "Best Friend of All Soviet Athletes," the man with the face of a kindly uncle, Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin. He's confused when Anna Akhmatova, whose poems express his teen-age passions, is attacked by Andrei Zhdanov, the cultural boss of the postwar era. And though he giggles rebelliously at Mikhail Zoshchenko's story "The Adventures of a Monkey"

Karen Rosenberg is a fellow of the Russian Research Center at Harvard University.

Caribbean Contrasts
Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Barbados, and Grenada
March 16-30, 1985

Outwardly, these island nations appear very much alike. All share a magnificent climate and natural beauty, and all are English-speaking, having been settled by Great Britain. But by meeting the people of these islands, the visitor can see vital differences in each nation; former colonies, each embarking on a quest to establish their own identity and independence from the large industrial powers. We will combine the enjoyment of beautiful beaches and guaranteed good weather, with an overview of the dramatic struggle for economic self-determination taking place in the Caribbean.

Pre-tour seminar March 11, 1985.

Schilling Travel
Away to discover since 1924.
722 Second Avenue South
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55402
612-332-1100

MOVING?

ATTACH MAILING LABEL HERE

Don't miss a single issue of THE NATION.

New address:
Name
Street
City
State Zip

Please allow 6-8 weeks for processing.

Mail to: THE NATION
P.O. Box 1953
Marion, Ohio 43305

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

(its subversive point, according to Zhdanov, is that one breathes easier locked up in a zoo than in Soviet society), he still believes "that Zhdanov's world was normal and that Zoshchenko's world was abnormal, decadent, and shameful."

Growing up doesn't mend the rift in Tolya; on the contrary, he splits into five characters, a scientist, a saxophonist, a physician, a sculptor and a writer, all of whom share his patronymic, Apollinarievich. Some are more creative, some more establishment than others; all are a little of both, like the contradictory boy from whom they sprang. During the post-Stalin thaw, they had hoped to reconcile intellectual honesty with the comforts of success; wearing narrow pants and Soviet imitations of baseball shoes, they had been Russia's new wave, the beatniks, the new voices, "the generation of Aksyonov's *Ticket to the Stars*."

Aksyonov knows he is an emblem not just of that generation's rise but of its fall. A meeting in the Kremlin in 1963, at which Khrushchev accused Aksyonov of using his art to avenge his father, is played out in *The Burn*; a steel bird that flits in and out of the narrative is a character from a story by Aksyonov that was never allowed to be published in full in the Soviet Union. The Soviet boys who drove the tanks through Prague in 1968, dealing the final blow to optimism, are described as reading "a yellow-covered issue of the magazine *Youth*, in which there was a story by one Aksyonov entitled 'A Surplus of Empty Barrels.'"

Written between 1969 and 1975, *The Burn* can be read as an eccentric historical novel about that period, when political hopes gave way to womanizing and drink. Wandering through bars cheap and fancy, Aksyonov's five protagonists may seem burnt out and sound cynical, but the Tolya von Steinbock in each of them longs for true love and sweet revenge. Their history asserts itself in memories, reincarnations and coincidences: Captain Cheptsov reappears as a cloakroom attendant; Sanya Gurchenko resurfaces as a priest in Rome; and a woman named Alisa Fokusova (*fokus* is the Russian for "magic trick") may be the prisoner in the Magadan snow long ago. With his disjointed narrative, Aksyonov conjures up the way past and present irritate each other in the unconscious. The brief final section, an escape to the country, offers no peace, for though the narrator—finally a single "I"—meets his Communist father, has his way with Alisa and thinks of God, he finds no psychological or philosophical resting place.

Indeed, this is a novel written against happy endings and all-inclusive systems of belief. It reads as if its author had decided to live up to his bad reputation with the Soviet establishment and demonstrate what modernism, iconoclasm and pornography are really about. Yet when a writer *can* say everything, perhaps he shouldn't: many parts of this book are too long, too monochromatic, too self-consciously derivative of Russian avant-garde prose of the early part of the century. It exemplifies the problems that arise when the internal censor also plays the role of internal editor: when the former is jettisoned, the latter goes too, and excesses pile up.

On the other hand, some characters and incidents are underdrawn, perhaps in the expectation that readers will recognize their real-life prototypes. But though Soviet émigrés and Sovietologists may chuckle at satirical portraits, most American readers lack the keys to a Russian *roman à clef*. One hopes that in emigration Aksyonov's writing will not be defined so narrowly by his dissent from Soviet orthodoxy.

Although Aksyonov repeatedly fell afoul of Soviet censorship, he appreciates an author who worked within its bounds. Yuri Trifonov, who died in the spring of 1981, stood outside the familiar conformist/dissident dichotomy of Soviet letters. Criticized as too pessimistic by the Soviet press but also defended in it, he was euphemistically dubbed "complicated," not a term of endearment in officialese. As Aksyonov explained in October 1981 at a conference in Toronto on The Writer and Human Rights:

> Trifonov used to say that censorship doesn't always destroy the tissues of creative art. In the course of his struggle to save his work, a writer evolves a certain peculiar style, weaving a subtle web, a transparent screen, from behind which a reader can perceive the flickering of his flame. In other words, the writer creates a unique style which he would not have conceived without the existence of censorship. However, Trifonov was about the only [Soviet] writer who managed to turn censorship to his own advantage.

Like Aksyonov, Trifonov came from a Communist family that was betrayed in 1937; he was 12 when his father, an Old Bolshevik, was taken at night from his *dacha*, and the two never met again. Later, Trifonov combed archives and interviewed survivors to produce a short study, published in the mid-1960s, called *Reflection of the Campfire* (a different, darker translation is *Reflection of the Stake*) which attempts to reconstruct his father's life. Trifonov's fiction contains several middle-aged men—a historian, a playwright, a literary critic—who struggle unsuccessfully to make a coherent story from the experiences of earlier generations. That failure is connected with their inability to live in harmony with their own sons and daughters, for the organic connections in society have been severed by censorship and silence. The tight conditions under which extended families live in Moscow, sharing kitchens, bathrooms and bedrooms, only emphasize the lack of social cohesion.

The Old Man, which appeared in the Soviet Union in 1978, follows the scattered thoughts of Pavel Evgrafovich Letunov, which are mainly about the Civil War in southern Russia in 1919. Rather than a historical novel, it is a novel about the search for historical truth and about the lies and omissions that even the well-intentioned prefer. The mystery that preoccupies the old man revolves around Sergei Kirillovich Migulin, who is based on an actual figure in the Civil War. Why did Migulin, a commander of the Red Cossacks, decide on his own to lead his men against the White General Denikin, an act which led to Migulin's arrest, a death sentence and a last-minute Dostoyevskian pardon? That is the question Letunov poses. But it may be a red herring, masking a more politically sensitive issue: Why did Moscow and most party workers at the front mistrust Migulin, and keep him idle when he itched to fight for the revolution, until he snapped and took matters into his own hands? Migulin's charisma, his resistance to domination by inexperienced and dogmatic political commissars and his protests against the forced requisition of grain made him suspect to many party functionaries.

Though Migulin was pardoned for his insubordination, he was later tried on charges of counterrevolutionary activity and executed. Letunov, who had known the commander in Civil War

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

days, tried to rehabilitate his name in the 1960s. One summer in the early 1970s, he is still obsessed with the Cossack leader. Behind his fixation lies repressed guilt, but the reason for it cannot be divulged without spoiling the novel's surprise ending. Suffice it to say that the young Letunov was less sure than his older self about where he stood in the battle between Migulin and the Jacobin commissars. He had vacillated, carried away by the enthusiasms of the revolutionary era:

> Like lava it flows, that savage time, submerging and burying in its fire. . . . My God, and so few people were horrified; so few cried out! Because the lava blinds your eyes.

The scorching summer weather that threatens the old man's heart fuses with his memories of revolutionary hotheads to produce the image of history as a volcanic eruption. It's a metaphor that ignores human volition and moral choice, yet instead of condemning the old man for his blindness, Trifonov makes the reader empathize with him. Identifying with Letunov means recognizing that we too could lose our moral bearings and commit irrevocable crimes in the name of some great cause.

Trifonov reserves his scorn for another, Oleg Vasilevich Kandaurov, a careerist intellectual whose actions can't be excused by youth or misplaced idealism. As the Letunov children's competitor for a *dacha*, he pursues his selfish goals "right up to the hilt," a phrase that becomes increasingly sinister as the plot unfolds. Between the lines, one can read that a revolution that is cavalier in matters of fairness and justice is likely to create a society with similar shortcomings.

Letunov's Uncle Shura, an Old Bolshevik who objected, however futilely, to personal vengeance disguised as class struggle, stands for a better communist road not taken. A kindly father figure—some say, a fictional representation of Trifonov's own father—he is the only character in the novel who comes close to being the traditional positive hero of Socialist Realism. So it is surprising and significant that he fails to save the day. Shura's inability to shield Migulin from disaster suggests that in Trifonov's view, personal decency, while admirable, doesn't accomplish much in Soviet Russia, but he puts a politically acceptable opinion in Letunov's mouth: "The trouble was, there were no real commissars around." By hiding behind his protagonist, Trifonov leaves his novel open to contradictory interpretations.

Such camouflages and compromises have been attacked in *samizdat*, but not everyone is cut out for heroics. Trifonov's way of living with censorship may have made him peculiarly aware of weakness and ambivalence, and impatient with black-and-white characterizations. "They tried it while Migulin was still alive, shrieking out words like 'traitor' and 'betrayer'; and they're still trying it today, with cries of 'Leninist' and 'revolutionary,'" thinks Letunov. "If he could simply be explained in a single word I would not be sitting here in the middle of the night rummaging through papers."

Trifonov and Aksyonov understand the importance of memory and also its fragility. Tolya von Steinbock and Migulin are charismatic but shadowy figures. The temptation to forget is great when the past is politically suspect or personally embarrassing, and when it doesn't even seem to make much sense. If official histories contain glaring omissions and distortions, then private recollections take on special value—as do the novels that explore and preserve them. □

THEATER.

PAUL BERMAN

A Day in the Death of Joe Egg

"Theaterphobia" was the title on the cover of January's *Atlantic*. Inside was a long chronicle about going to the theater and disliking it by David Denby, *New York*'s film critic. Denby, as his friends know, spent many months threatening to publish such a piece. The prospects were fearsome, given his critical talents and intellectual range, also his gift for hitting metaphors on the head, which makes him quietly lethal. Even something great can be made to seem absurd by a sufficiently talented writer, and the poor American theater is surely, in its present phase, less than great. So I worried about Denby. In fact, I spent six months secretly shoring up a defense, filling this column with references to "serious movie-lovers" and their inadequate appreciation of theater, in hopes of inoculating the readers. One night I tried to influence the theaterphobic critic himself

Alexander Cockburn on THE PRESS.

Andrew Kopkind on THE CULTURE WARS.

Stephen F. Cohen on THE SOVIET UNION.

Christopher Hitchens on WASHINGTON.

Bird and Holland on GLOBAL POLITICS.

Calvin Trillin on UNCIVIL LIBERTIES.

The voices of dissent speak out in THE NATION.

The Reagan Administration is not funny; what it's doing to the country, and the world, is very serious. The voices of dissent must speak out. And the best place to hear them is in *The Nation*.

The Nation has been questioning the abuses of power for 119 years. And there has never been a greater need for it than now. *The Nation* conducts its own investigations, reports the kind of news Jeane Kirkpatrick and Jerry Falwell don't release through the national wire services, and serves as the forum for the leading voices of dissent on the critical issues of our time.

If you think these voices are important, join your voice to theirs and subscribe to *The Nation*. There's a reduced introductory rate for you.

Add your voice to ours.
Special Introductory Rate For New Subscribers.

THE NATION
BOX 1953, MARION, OH 43305

YES!!! Send me 24 issues of *The Nation* for $15, a savings of 50 percent off the newsstand price. I understand that I may cancel at any time and receive a refund for all unmailed copies.

☐ Double my savings. Send a full year for $28.
☐ My payment is enclosed—reward me with FOUR FREE ADDITIONAL ISSUES!
☐ Please bill me later.

NAME (PLEASE PRINT)

ADDRESS

CITY STATE ZIP

Add: Canada and Mexico: $3.50/24 issues, $7/one year; Other Foreign: $6.50/24 issues, $13/one year. Subscriptions payable in equivalent U.S. funds.

D8506

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and brought him to a play, hoping that by whispering in his ear and applauding wildly I could get him to relent and repent.

But no. Came January and Denby dropped his bomb. The white cloud went up over various Manhattan neighborhoods and . . . well, it's heartening how sturdy the old theater district turns out to be. So much of Denby's irritation at theater looks rather silly in print. For instance, he doesn't like the way the actors talk. "The theater is full of voices that sound like hi-fi speakers with the bass or treble turned up, of voices that are cracked, edged, serrated, terraced—driftwood and rusted steel, barrel organ and brine"—but not exactly human-sounding, in his estimation. Which is to say, the natural techniques of vocal projection sound, to him, unnatural. And really, what kind of criticism is that? Denby on how stage actors talk sounds like the guy who dislikes opera because the singers don't whine like country stars. It's a criticism that comes from going to the movies but hardly from going to the theater. Actually, it's not a criticism at all but a condition. Someone suffering from this condition listens to human voices at the theater and thinks he's hearing a hi-fi speaker; and listens to hi-fi speakers at a movie house and thinks he's hearing human voices. Alienation is the name of this state. Feuerbach labeled it years ago. And of course there are many people who have it worse than film-lovers—television-lovers, for example, who doubtless find movie voices inhuman because they don't sound like television.

I could go on about filmophiles and their errors of taste and perception in regard to theater. I will go on. I will flog this particular horse from time to time forever, I think. But pausing momentarily from my exertions, let me acknowledge that here and there Denby's atomic attack did, it's true, accomplish some useful bits of slum clearance. He complained about the cheery spirit exuded by so much of the commercial theater. He can't stand all those didactic, public-spirited plays. The air of upper-middle-class optimism offends him. He prefers the downbeat morose tone of much of the equally commercial movie world. Clint Eastwood's cynical, violent loneliness strikes him as superior to the cheery soporifics of a musical like *Baby*. And about this aspect of Denby's argument, leaving aside the wisdom of comparing Clint Eastwood to *Baby*, one can only agree. False cheeriness isn't universal in the commercial theater, not to mention the noncommercial theater, which isn't cheery at all; but it exists, and it is very irritating.

You can see it even in a drama like *A Day in the Death of Joe Egg*, Peter Nichol's 1960s play recently revived at the Roundabout. *Egg* ought to be anything but cheery, you would think. An English schoolteacher and his wife kid each other around the living room, joshing and flirting and encouraging each other in their different hobbies. And we see with a bit of a shock that life and marriage aren't going well, for Mum and Dad have a 12-year-old daughter who's three-quarters dead with brain damage. The stuff of serious drama, in short. One even thinks of Ibsen for a second, since Mom ascribes the child's defects to her own sexual past, which is the ghost of an Ibsenian theme.

How to live with such a tragic situation? Anyone with a good idea in *Egg* is shown to be a bad person, which rather incriminates the idea. Dad's old school chum, who advocates institutionalization, is an immoral hypocrite. The chum's wife favors euthanasia and should plainly be its first victim. The doctor is so crude as to talk about "wegetables," in his German accent. A minister is so trendy he's a joke. As for Mum, she expounds a bubble-gum philosophy of love for all living things. "Where there's life, there's hope," summarizes her view. But there isn't hope. Perhaps the play itself, the action on stage, will offer a way to understand the family tragedy? No such luck. Dad, cast down by Mum's lack of interest in sex, tries to murder the child in a backhanded way, and when that doesn't work, he skips town. This ought to drive home how inadequate all other responses to the tragedy have been, how truly awful is this family's situation. Dad's freak-out and flight ought to open a bleak window on reality. But not for a moment do we believe this ending—that nice old Dad would do in the wegetable; or that Mum would accept Dad back after the wegetable recovers; or that she would turn a new leaf by promising to make love more often, now that she knows Dad harbors murderous instincts.

And given this central failing in *Egg*, the failure to rise adequately to the household situation, what dominates the stage is somehow the comforting atmosphere of middle-class civility, the triumph of humor over a grim situation, the hope of family tenderness, the cheery upbeat theater spirit that Denby complains about, the comfy sofa, the squeaky-clean living room. He's right. He didn't mention *A Day in the Death of Joe Egg* in his *Atlantic* manifesto, and he's right about it anyway. The tone, the feeling is all too A-O.K.

It's just that *Egg*, and theater in general, has one other dimension that Denby doesn't discuss. Mum and Dad cope by joking and performing shticks, which is how they re-enact for the audience the episodes with minister and doctor. Sometimes they step out of the story and address the audience directly. And while much of this is clumsy as play-writing, and while the humor is less than hilarious, two important purposes are served. The comedy and shtick clear quite a little field for performance. Jim Dale puts his agile face and body and careful timing to good comedic use as Dad. Stockard Channing manages to communicate Mom's depth and reserve merely by how she crosses her legs. And these performances do something that can never be done in the movies: they involve the audience. Two women behind me spent the play whispering back and forth, "He's so wonderful," "She's so wonderful." Oh, abominable ladies—they should have been turned out by the usher; but in a sense they responded reasonably. People should go to the theater in the same spirit they go to sports events, Brecht said; and the abominable ladies were perfect Brechtians. They weren't sitting alone in the dark, wrapped in the play as in a dream, which is the experience of seeing a movie. They were at the theater. Their hearts were beating as one with the rest of the audience and with the actors. Their experience was collective.

Collective experience: that is what the serious movie-lovers don't understand. Denby, in looking for plays he could admire, finally recognized that theater has a literary quality that film cannot have. He celebrated two plays (*Glengarry Glen Ross* and *Hurlyburly*) for their distinctly literary virtues. But in all his prowls through the theater district, he never seemed to stumble across the virtues that are uniquely theatrical, the excitement of a theater full of people all feeling the same thing, the peculiar energy that emerges when an actor

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

engages an audience and an audience gets caught up in an actor. I won't say that *A Day in the Death of Joe Egg* creates that theatrical energy in any powerful or memorable way; but even a pretentious bourgeois work like this can generate the occasional electric thrill when performed by a cast in which "he's so wonderful," "she's so wonderful." That's what dramaphiles understand. Otherwise they'd save their money and go to the movies. □

DANCE.

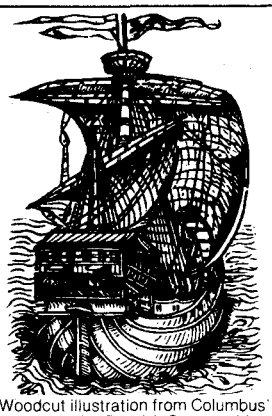
MINDY ALOFF

Field, Chair and Mountain
Einstein on the Beach

Field, Chair and Mountain, recently given its premiere in Washington by American Ballet Theatre, seems as easy and mild as light verse. It also puts A.B.T.'s audience in an unusually good humor and, like every modern work that Baryshnikov has brought to the company, it flatters the dancers enormously. The casting is for four couples and a corps of six women, six men and six folding chairs; a ballerina folding chair also appears as a member of a pas de trois. The author is New York City "constructionist" and wordsmith David Gordon, who, despite the fact that he's making some of the brainiest movement art around, dislikes being called a choreographer. *Field*, his first full-fledged classical ballet, is strictly a construction—no word games, except the title, which plays off the composer's name. Perhaps because its material is limited and its music indolent, it has a muted tone. But the slanting falls, chaîné turns, 100 degree développés, bourrées and walking steps are deployed, shattered and refashioned with rich wit. Like a fur lining in a raincoat, craft provides an inner luxury.

The beginning is so subdued that I mistook the restraint for lack of focus. To the gentle opening of the Seventh Piano Concerto (1832) by Irish-born virtuoso pianist John Field, principal ballerina Martine van Hamel—statuesque and sheathed in blue—drifts across the stage several times. Once she simply performs a chain of walking turns; another time she reverses herself, yawningly extends a leg and bourrées off. Always proceeding from left to right, her en-

DISCOVER
TREASURES



Woodcut illustration from Columbus' letter to the Spanish Court, 1493.

AN EXHIBITION
FEBRUARY 15–MAY 24, 1985
Exhibit Hours: Mon.-Sat. 10am-6pm
Free Tours: 12:30 pm; Group Tours: 930-0501
The New York Public Library
Fifth Avenue & 42nd Street, New York City
Made possible by Manufacturers Hanover, with additional support from Touche Ross & Co. and Exxon Corporation.

Curious About Quakers?

For over 300 years the Society of Friends has supported peace, understanding, and personal growth. Quakers have offered insights on personal faith and group worship that have been helpful to many spiritual seekers from different faiths.

FRIENDS JOURNAL, published 19 times a year, offers a view of the spiritual and social commitment of today's Quakers. You certainly don't have to be a Quaker in order to learn and grow through reading FRIENDS JOURNAL.

FRIENDS JOURNAL
1501 Cherry St., Dept. N, Philadelphia, PA 19102

Name _____
Street _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____
Please send me FRIENDS JOURNAL for 6 months ($6); one year ($12). Payment enclosed. Sample copy $1.

¡Speak Spanish like a diplomat!®

What sort of people need to learn a foreign language as quickly and effectively as possible? *Foreign service personnel*, that's who. Members of America's diplomatic corps are assigned to U.S. embassies abroad, where they must be able to converse in every situation.

Now you can learn to speak Spanish just as these diplomatic personnel do—with the Foreign Service Institute's Programmatic Spanish Course. You'll learn Latin American Spanish recorded by native speakers.

The U.S. Department of State has spent thousands of dollars developing this course. It's by far *the most effective way* to learn Spanish at your own convenience and at your own pace.

The course consists of a series of cassettes and accompanying textbook. Simply follow the spoken and written instructions, listening and repeating. By the end of the course, you'll be learning and speaking entirely in Spanish!

This course turns your cassette player into a "teaching machine." With its unique "programmatic" learning method, you set your own pace – testing yourself, correcting errors, reinforcing accurate responses.

The FSI's Programmatic Spanish Course comes in two volumes, each shipped in a handsome library binder. Order either, or save 10% by ordering both:

☐ **Volume I: Basic.** 12 cassettes (17 hr.), manual, and 464-p. text, $125.
☐ **Volume II: Intermediate.** 8 cassettes (12 hr.), manual, and 614-p. text, $110.

(Conn. and N.Y. residents add sales tax.)

TO ORDER BY PHONE, PLEASE CALL TOLL-FREE NUMBER: **1-800-243-1234.**

To order by mail, clip this ad and send with your name, address, and check or money order, or charge to any major credit card by enclosing card number, expiration date, and your signature.

The Foreign Service Institute's Spanish course is unconditionally guaranteed. Try it for three weeks. If you're not convinced it's the fastest, easiest, most painless way to learn Spanish, return it and we'll refund every penny you paid. Order today!

116 courses in 39 other languages also available. Write us for free catalog. Our 12th year.

Audio-Forum
Room B35
On-the-Green,
Guilford, CT 06437
(203) 453-9794

AUDIO-FORUM®

Or visit our New York sales office: 145 E. 49th St., New York, N.Y. 10017 (212)753-1783

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

EVENTS.

Let Nation readers know about your event!

They want to know:
WHAT'S GOING ON
WHERE and
WHEN

GIVE PEACE A DANCE
Benefit for Medical Aid for Central America

Live music with Johnny Colon; The Human Condition.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 9 PM

The Marc Ballroom
30 East 16th Street
New York City

Contribution: $10 employed, $5 unemployed.

Sponsoring organizations: African-American Solidarity Network, Nicaragua Medical and Material Aid Campaign and New York Central American Health Rights Committee. For further information call NICMAC (212) 889-5188.

BENEFIT

JULIO CORTAZAR MEMORIAL

An afternoon of words and music to benefit Julio Cortazar Hospital in Nicaragua with Gato Barbieri, Ariel Dorfman, William Kennedy, Toni Morrison, Arthur Miller, Grace Paley, Gregory Rabassa, Richard Falk and Carolyn Forche.

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 17, 3PM

Ethical Culture Society
2 West 64th Street (near Central Park West)
New York City

Tickets $10 and $25—$50 with reception. Advance purchase suggested. For information call (212) 924-8289

A WASHINGTON PREMIERE

THE GOOD FIGHT

A documentary about the Abraham Lincoln Brigade and the Spanish Civil War, to benefit the Democratic Socialists of America, DC/MD.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 8 PM

Inner Circle Theater
2105 Pennsylvania Avenue N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Panel with the filmmaker
and a veteran will follow the film.

Tickets $10 at the door, in advance at **Common Concerns** bookstore, or reserved by writing to DSA DC/MD, 1346 Connecticut Avenue N.W., #810A, Washington DC 20036.

ROUNDTABLE FORUM

The Ongoing War in Central America and What You Can Do To Stop It

Moderator: The Rev. David Garcia, St. Marks-in-the-Bowery.
Speakers: Ralph McGhee, C.I.A. agent, retired; Oscar Chacon, Casa El Salvador; Lt. Col. John Buchanan, retired; Paul Sweezy, Monthly Review; Migdalia de Jesus Torres, John Frappier, USOCA; Dr. Michio Kaku, Prof. Archie Singham, Brooklyn College.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 25, 7 PM

Hunter College School of Social Work
129 East 79th Street
New York City

Admission $3

For further information call SANE (212) 683-4151 or USOCA (212) 929-5105.

trances make up a kind of continuous handwriting, the text of a solo—her story. Gradually, this story is traced over by three secondary couples, the men and women continually renegotiating the roles of support and display. By the end of the ballet's half hour, van Hamel and her partner, Clark Tippet, have been related to the other couples in a host of ways, the partnering has been pared from macroscopic lifts to microchip squeezes of the hand, and the primacy of the ballerina in classical dancing has been reaffirmed. Gordon has explored just a few key aspects of ballet, but intimately and with authority.

The intimacy is a function of skill; the authority is earned. Formed in the polemical 1960s, Gordon seems to be, by nature, an ironist, with an appreciation of paradox, a fascination with the psychology of partnering, an ambivalence about glamour and fame. On occasion, he has revealed a critical temperament and, in postmodern (or Balanchinian) fashion, an interest in layered allusions. He also husbands themes and effects. One can catch in *Field* the exalting imagery for women that Gordon has used in his duets for himself and his wife, Valda Setterfield, as well as the puns on pedestrian movement that riddle his pieces for his own Pick Up Comp. and a recent étude in partnered walking for Stuart Pimsler and Suzanne Costello. (The immediate antecedent to Gordon's A.B.T. piece was his *Field Dances* for the Extemporary Dance Theatre, a new British dance group.) Linking his efforts for lofts and opera houses is a remarkable dance momentum. Whether they're assuming an arabesque or moving furniture around, his performers are buoyed by a larger current or controlling pulse. They're always dancing, and the rhythmic continuity with which Gordon links pedestrian and theatrical gesture makes his elisions coherent.

In *Field*, Gordon has mastered van Hamel's heroic scale. Van Hamel is a magisterial dancer, particularly of Petipa, because she gives movement its full meaning in terms of line, mass and contour. She's a comparatively big ballerina, and, in the right roles, her work is peerlessly expansive. Harmony and proportion are the bread and water of her technique, and she deviates so little from the musical stress that she can, in the wrong roles, seem stolid. In *Field*, she begins to grow into Mount Ballerina with that early extension; by the end, with the help of a consort, she's enthroned amid a court. (This is essentially the plot of the Petipa ballets in which she excels—*The Sleeping Beauty*, *La Bayadère*, *Swan Lake*.) My favorite moment for her occurs in a lift with Tippet. In one clapperlike motion, he sweeps her off the ground before him, and one of her legs sweeps up before her; then, continuing the momentum, it swings to the back in a sort of battement en cloche, radically changing her silhouette, turning it inside out like an enormous umbrella that succumbs to a gust of wind.

Van Hamel's most regal effects are achieved in her waltz with Tippet and a folding chair. The timing is so tricky and the conceits about absence and presence so fleet that they make one's head spin, much as watching a game of three-card monte, or the adagio for three at the heart of Balanchine's *Symphonie Concertante*.

The set and costumes for *Field* are by Santo Loquasto. The predominant colors are powder blue and shades of peach, lit by Jennifer Tipton as a new morning or mature twilight, as the situation demands. The set is in two parts: a screen of mountains that ponderously unfolds sideways and a painted backdrop that unwinds vertically, transforming itself from a field of periwinkle blue to a snow-capped peak where folding chairs gambol amid the glaciers. Perhaps the loveliest moment in the ballet is partially an effect of the decor. It comes when a nocturne is introduced in the concerto's first movement. (Field invented the form and enjoyed slipping it into his music.) Mysteriously yet efficently, the screen inches into view from the left. Then, as if bonded in a living frieze, several couples in pinks and oranges sail painstakingly forth from the same direction, the women held in various positions at various heights, the men advancing them at various rates, each couple as large and innocent as a dinosaur. It's a panorama of simple yet intense emotion. From my chair, the dancers appeared to be fielding the grandeur of many mountains.

Lucinda Childs's new choreography for the revival of *Einstein on the Beach*—in 1984, the avant-garde's answer to *The Nutcracker*—was substantial and, in context, positively hyperkinetic. I didn't see the original production at the Metropolitan Opera House

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in 1976, with dances by Andrew De Groat; this version, which played to sold-out houses at the Brooklyn Academy of Music in December, was carefully performed and produced.

After four and a half hours in my seat, I was ready to go home, and was led there quietly. It's a mark of the work's weird transforming power that it brought an unsympathetic observer like me to an appreciation of Childs's choreography for groups, which, in the context of a two-hour performance, I've never been able to cotton to. In *Einstein*, she's responsible for two such dances, each called "Field (Space Machine)." The first one seemed an old friend: line after line of dancers entered the stage and, to a mesmerizing evenness, danced off. On. Off. On. Off. The second dance seemed new. Not only did the patterns vary from line to arc, but the smaller phrases also had dynamic play.

In her solo for the first scene of *Einstein*, which was part of the original production, Childs delivered a virtuoso performance, tracing her steps along the narrow terrain of an undeviating diagonal path. Each time she turned to renew the diagonal she was a different presence, projecting a different dance quality—light, sharp, cool, pressing. She also used her face more than I remember her doing in similar solos. Ordinarily, on stage, her features strike me as beautiful but cold. In *Einstein*, she was Duse. □

Join The Nation Associates, a group of loyal and committed *Nation* readers who provide invaluable support for the magazine through annual contributions of $20 or more. Membership includes participation in a variety of Associates activities and a subscription to "The Nation Associate," a newsletter that tells you what's going on behind the scenes at *The Nation*.

For further information write or call Claudine Bacher, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011, (212) 242-8400. Make checks payable to The Nation Associates.

When drafting your will, please consider making a bequest to *The Nation*.

For information, write or call: Office of the Publisher, *The Nation*, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011 (212) 242-8400.

CLASSIFIED.

While we reserve the right to refuse any advertisement that we believe to be fraudulent, illegal or offensive, The Nation *wishes its readers to know: a) we do not have the facilities to check out the promises made by our advertisers; and b) we have a strong presumption against censoring any advertisement, especially if we disagree with its politics.*

APARTMENT DESIRED

A ROOM WITH A VIEW. Quiet, responsible, nonsmoking Nation intern seeks to share or sublet living space in NYC. Up to $450/mo. Call Ben Spier at (212) 242-8400 or evenings at (518) 799-3195.

NEW IN TOWN. Quiet, responsible Nation intern seeks moderately priced share or sublet. Temporary housing O.K. Send any info to The Nation, Box LAL, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011, or contact Laurie Lipper, (212) 242-8400.

NEW NATION EMPLOYEE from California seeking reasonably priced NYC apartment. Prefer lease but would consider subletting or house sitting. Call Neil Black at (212) 242-8400.

ASSOCIATIONS

NATIONAL WRITERS UNION. Collective bargaining. Grievance procedures. Health insurance. Journalists, authors, poets, commercial writers. National Writers Union, Box C, 13 Astor Place, New York, NY 10003.

IMPEACH REAGAN. It's not too early to start. Join now. Button, bumper sticker, poster, membership card and newsletter. $5 postpaid. Impeach Reagan Committee, Box 5725B, Portland, OR 97228.

RADIO UNNAMEABLE CABAL. If the words "Good Morning, Cabal" ever meant anything to you—if you ever listened until "Bye bye, I wuv you," you are a member of the Cabal in good standing. In order to establish a network of all of us—object interactivity—please send name, address, phone number and a line or two about what you are doing now to: Bob Fass, WBAI Radio, 505 Eighth Avenue, New York, NY 10018.

BOOKS

DO WE NEED TO KNOW the ideas that motivate many Third World revolutionaries? Is there an alternative to capitalism and communism? Do Qaddafi's theses represent an emerging Third World theoretical orientation? Whether the answer is No or Yes, are you informed? An Alternative to Capitalism and Communism, edited and compiled from addresses given by Muammar el-Qaddafi. Available in paperback at $7 from Clarity Press, Suite 469 (N), 3277 Roswell Road N.E., Atlanta, GA 30305.

9,000 BOOKS, American and English firsts. Faulkner and Fitzgerald. Scholarly books. Free catalogue. Phoenix Tape Corp., 5859 New Peachtree Road, Suite 129, Atlanta, GA 30340.

SCHOLARLY BOOKLET PROVES JESUS NEVER EXISTED!

Conclusive proof Flavius Josephus created fictional Jesus, authored Gospels. AMAZING but **ABSOLUTELY INCONTROVERTIBLE!** Send $4 to Vector Associates, Box 6215-B, Bellevue, WA 98008. Or request details.

BOOKS

FREE BOOKLETS: Life, death, soul, hell, resurrection, millennium, new earth. Bible Standard (NAT), Chester Springs, PA 19425.

EDUCATION

LEARN 10 LANGUAGES a year while striding for exercise. 200 Language Club, Box 1727, Beverly Hills, CA 90213.

STUDY SPANISH IN NICARAGUA

Learn about the revolution firsthand.

Live with a family.

Casa Nicaraguense de Español.

Phone (212) 949-4126 or write: 141 East 44th Street, Room 409, New York, NY 10017.

"NICA": ESTELI, NICARAGUA

Learn Spanish in revolutionary Nicaragua! NICA offers year-round programs of family living, language classes, community work and seminars with Nicaraguan leaders. 1985 sessions already under way—apply now! Call or write: NICA, Box 1409, Cambridge, MA 02238. (617) 497-7142.

FUND RAISING

PEACE, SAFE-ENERGY GROUPS—Raise money and spread the word. Sell Out of the Darkness, a record or tape featuring songs on peace and safe energy sung by Pete Seeger, Kate Wolf, Holly Near, Jesse Colin Young, many others. Sold to groups at bulk rates. For information write Box 3827, Berkeley, CA 94703 or call (415) 547-6696 from 1 to 5 pm.

GAMES & PUZZLES

THE NATION'S BEST PUZZLES: brain-teasers by Frank W. Lewis, collected in book #4. Send $4 ppd. to E.S. Lewis, 1620 Acushnet Avenue, New Bedford, MA 02746.

INSURANCE

DONALD SHAFFER ASSOCIATES, INC.
INSURANCE AND FINANCIAL SERVICES
Specialists in Pension & Employee Benefit Planning
11 GRACE AVENUE, Great Neck, NY 11021
212-895-7005, 516-466-4642

MERCHANDISE

THE ROSENBERG DEBATE TAPES. The historic debate, "Were the Rosenbergs Framed?" sponsored by The Nation and The New Republic at Town Hall on October 20, can now be purchased in typed transcript and/or cassette tape form. Complete transcripts are available for $24 each; tape cassettes are $19 each. Special discounts are available on orders of five or more. Send check or mail order payable to The Nation to: "Rosenbergs," The Nation, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. If you'd like more information, call (212) 242-8400. (A project of The Nation Institute.)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CLASSIFIED.

MERCHANDISE

"NO MORE! No Vietnam War in Central America!" The background of this poster, a military coffin and the inscription "No More" originated during the Vietnam War and was widely circulated. Now the well-known artist Sam Wiener, angered by the Reagan Administration's war efforts in Central America, has forcefully expressed his outrage by splashing a fiery-red protest over the original. The posters, measuring 24½ by 19½ inches, are printed in three colors on high-gloss paper. They are available for $4 each, plus $1 for postage. (Orders of 5 or more are available for $3 per poster plus postage. Please inquire for special discounts on large quantity bulk orders.) Make checks payable to The Nation, and send to: The Nation, "No More," 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

MONEY-MAKING OPPORTUNITIES

MAKE TWO THOUSAND PER MONTH

in the multilevel mail order business. For manual send $10 to: Earnest L. Riggs Enterprises, 3133 45th Avenue N., Birmingham, AL 35207.

PERSONALS

SOPHISTICATED SCANDINAVIANS, all ages, seek enlightened correspondence, lasting relationships. Details: SCANNA-N, Box 4, Pittsford, NY 14534.

SINGLE PROFILE NEXUS creates a nationwide network of cultured singles. Box 19983, Orlando, FL 32814.

FOR PEACE, SOCIAL JUSTICE? Contact unattached like-minded, nationwide. CONCERNED SINGLES, Box 7737-A, Berkeley, CA 94707.

PUT YOUR HEART IN MY HANDS, if you are a sensitive, single man, 45 plus, who seeks a warmhearted lady. Photo/letter please. Box 425, New York, NY 10013.

POSITIONS AVAILABLE

GOVERNMENT JOBS. $16,559 to $50,553 per year. Now hiring—your area. Is it true? Find out now. Call (805) 687-6000, Ext. R-3596.

POSITIONS AVAILABLE

ALTERNATIVE JOB/INTERNSHIP OPPORTUNITIES! The environment, women's rights, disarmament, media, health, community organizing, and more. Current nationwide listings, $3. COMMUNITY JOBS, Box 1105, 1520 16th Street N.W., Washington, DC 20036.

GRASS-ROOTS ORGANIZATION seeks experienced organizer for south-central Los Angeles. Must have car, prior organizing experience and be able to work flexible hours with minimal supervision. Salary negotiable, D.O.Q. mileage, vacation, health benefits, unionized. Send resume and salary requirements to C.E.S. Personnel Committee, 1010 W. 42nd, Los Angeles, CA 90037.

TYPESETTER WANTED. Experienced Compugraphic 7500 operator. Freelance position, Monday and Tuesday Approximately 20 hours per week, $9 per hour. Contact Jane Sharples, The Nation, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. (212) 242-8400.

MID-WEST FIELD ORGANIZER—Mobilization for Survival. Duties: Provide organizing support for peace and justice groups through travel, phone and mail. Fund raising and office management. Requirements: Organizing experience; commitment to MFS goals (zero nuclear weapons, ban nuclear power, reverse arms race, meet human needs); writing and communication skills; car; willingness to work for low-budget operation. $175-$200/wk plus health insurance, 3 weeks paid vacation. Send resume and cover letter to: Midwest MFS, 1016 North 9th Street, Milwaukee, WI 53233.

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR for nonprofit, public education organization working on Freedom of Information Act issues. Contact Search Committee Fund for Open Information and Accountability, 339 Lafayette Street, New York, NY 10012. (212) 477-3188.

POSITIONS DESIRED

PROGRESSIVE MAN, 40, highly committed, talented, energetic, seeks shift from career journalism to NYC-based social/political activism. Proven expertise in creative fund raising, publicity and promotion. Solid references. Clarke Taylor. (212) 989-7456.

PUBLICATIONS

SMALL TOWN, the voice of small town America. Articles on planning, preservation, attracting industry, housing, shopping malls, central business district improvement and other matters of interest to small communities. Individual membership in The Small Town Institute, $30. PO Box 517, Ellensburg, WA 98926. Just out, 100-page Historic Preservation Resourcebook. Special prices for bulk orders.

"FOOTNOTE ON AN HISTORIC CASE: IN RE ALGER HISS." This just-published booklet by author William A. Reuben identifies 114 factual errors in the Federal District Court of New York's 1982 decision upholding Hiss's conviction for perjury in 1950. This flawed decision, upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1983, stands as the last legal word on one of the most celebrated cases in modern history. 1 copy $5, 10 copies $40, 50 copies $150, 100 copies $250. Make checks payable to The Nation Institute and send to "Hiss," The Nation Institute, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

TECHNOCRACY-TECHNOLOGICAL SOCIAL DESIGN available for $2 from Technocracy Inc., Continental Headquarters, Savannah, OH 44874.

THE PEOPLE. Socialist bi-weekly covering major national/international developments. Since 1891. $4/one year, includes free pamphlet, "Capitalism and Unemployment." $1/four months. The People (N1), 914 Industrial Avenue, Palo Alto, CA 94303.

THE ROSENBERG DEBATE TAPES. The historic debate, "Were the Rosenbergs Framed?" sponsored by The Nation and The New Republic at Town Hall on October 20, can now be purchased in typed transcript and/or cassette tape form. Complete transcripts are available for $24 each; tape cassettes are $19 each. Special discounts are available on orders of five or more. Send check or mail order payable to The Nation to: "Rosenbergs," The Nation, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. If you'd like more information, call (212) 242-8400. (A project of The Nation Institute.)

THE SEXUALLY ADEQUATE FEMALE. $9.60, R.C. OWENS GROUP, Box 115-N, New York, NY 10116.

WOMEN OF CHINA reports progress, problems of a half-billion women; 45-page illustrated monthly. $10 per year. Sample $1. China Books, Department NT, 2929 24th Street, San Francisco, CA 94110.

CONVERSAZIONE. The arts and letters digest. Current issue $2. Conversazione, 1961-N North Lincoln, Chicago, IL 60614. (312) 525-3379.

WIN LOCAL POLITICAL OFFICE! Comprehensive manual covering fund-raising organization, media, etc. Immediate delivery. $10, Creative Concepts, Box 324, St. Charles, MO 63302.

NEWS COMMENTARY: Anti-right-wing and progressive? Join the thousands who can't stand George F. Will. For free details, write to Strong Points, Dept. N, Box 8266, Silver Spring, MD 20907.

PROGRESSIVE CHILDREN'S PASSOVER. A new Haggadah, celebrating freedom, spring and tradition without god. Stories of Moses and Harriet Tubman. $3.50 to Parenting in the Nuclear Age, Box 3479, Berkeley, CA 94703.

For the convenience of those who wish to place a classified notice in *THE NATION:*

RATES: $.80 per word, 15 word minimum; telephone and POB numbers count as two words, abbreviations and zip codes as one. Classified Display: $35/column inch. Copy deadline 17 days prior to issue date. **Payment must accompany order.**

Take advantage of our special offer: place an order for three insertions of your ad, and we will print a fourth insertion free!

TO: *THE NATION*
Classified Department
72 Fifth Avenue, N.Y., NY 10011

Enclosed is my check for $_____ for my advertisement to run ____ weeks

Advertiser _____

Address _____ City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Copy: _____

Payment in U.S. currency

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PUBLICATIONS

THE SESQUIPEDALIAN: language monthly, devoted to usage, vocabulary and etymology, $1 sample; $15 yearly. 706 NE 18th, Oklahoma City, OK 73105.

RECIPES

DELICIOUS—12 unusual vegetarian recipes from Cookee's Cozy Kitchen, Volume 1. Low-cost dishes that make expensive-tasting meals! Send $1.50 to Cookee Klein, Box 1762, New York, NY 10185.

VEGETARIAN COOKERY. More than 777 delicious recipes. Includes soups, sweets and cakes. Also new uses for fruit and vegetable juices. Send $5 to Serendipity Gallery, 350 Fifth Avenue, Suite 3308, New York, NY 10118.

ROOM AVAILABLE

ROOM IN WELLESLEY. Quiet cat-lover sought to rent bedroom in comfortable home. Kitchen privileges. Twenty minutes to Cambridge and Boston. $250 per month. Call (617) 235-7278 evenings and weekends.

ATTENTION GETTERS!

The Nation Classifieds are just that. Over 210,000 creative, involved and interested people read and respond to our Classified section each week. And our prices are incredibly reasonable. So if you want to get people's attention, fill out the coupon opposite this page and mail it in *today*!

This publication is available in microform.

University Microfilms International

300 North Zeeb Road
Dept. P.R.
Ann Arbor, Mi. 48106
U.S.A.

30-32 Mortimer Street
Dept. P.R.
London W1N 7RA
England

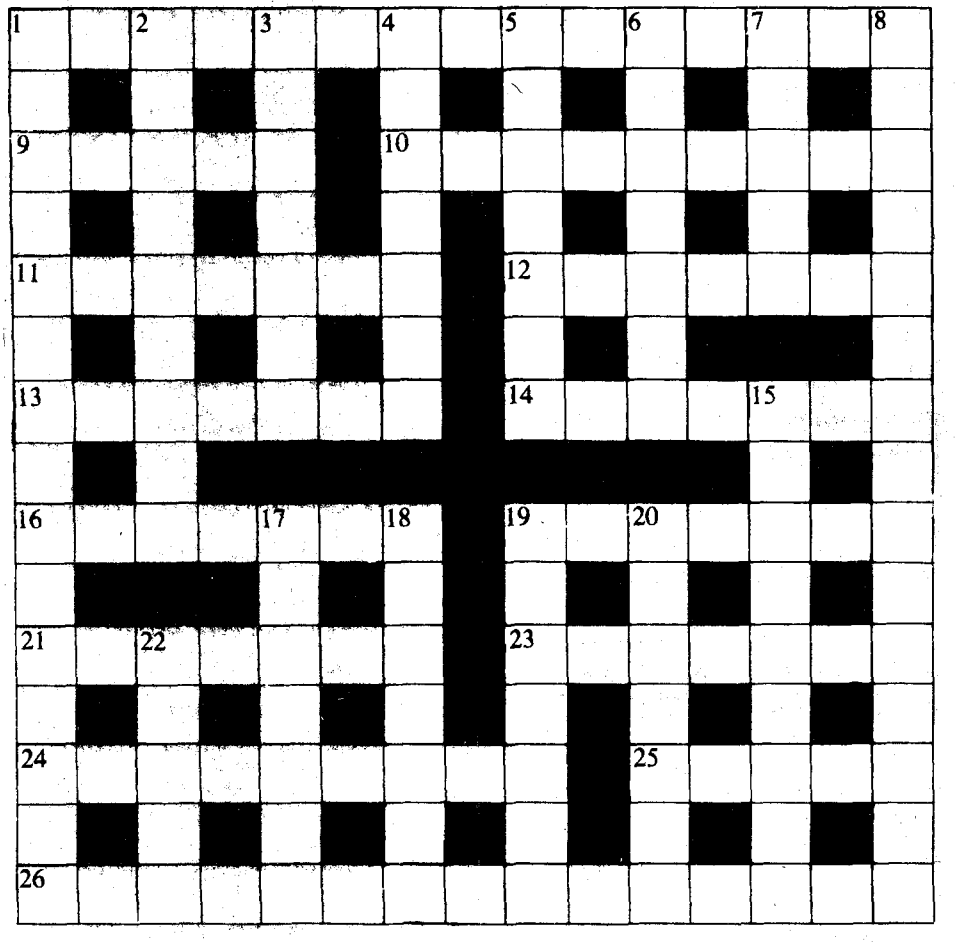
SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 2042

■	T	H	E	T	H	R	E	E	B	E	A	R	S	■
A	■	A	■	E	■	E	■	A	■	L	■	O	■	A
B	O	N	E	R	■	F	O	R	E	B	E	A	R	S
E	■	G	■	M	■	L	■	L	■	O	■	S	■	P
A	B	U	S	I	V	E	L	Y	■	W	I	T	H	E
M	■	P	■	N	■	X	■	■	■	■	■	P	■	R
■	■	■	C	A	P	I	T	A	L	S	H	I	P	S
S	■	C	■	L	■	V	■	S	■	F	■	G	■	E
C	R	O	S	S	S	E	C	T	I	O	N	■	■	■
R	■	N	■	■	■	■	■	R	■	R	■	B	■	B
A	N	T	I	C	■	B	R	O	N	Z	E	A	G	E
T	■	O	■	R	■	L	■	L	■	A	■	C	■	N
C	A	R	N	I	V	O	R	A	■	N	A	K	E	D
H	■	T	■	E	■	A	■	B	■	D	■	U	■	S
■	E	S	P	R	I	T	D	E	C	O	R	P	S	■

LOCAL ONE AMALGAMATED LITHOGRAPHERS UNION LABEL X-523 NEW YORK

Crossword Puzzle No. 2043

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Evidently one can't be choosy about the wine, on a rainy day. (One says it in desperation!) (3,4,2,1,5)
9 Do they take 50 units of current strength to light them? (5)
10 There may be one after every poker hand, according to such as Tugwell or Hopkins. (3,6)
11 Lost a letter? It may be due to this. (7)
12 The Bard, when bothered, could be measured according to it, perhaps. (7)
13 Assails by arguments, like the Gumps in embroilment. (7)
14 If they battle in Atlanta again, it would have be with clubs. (7)
16 Appears to be what the spinning satellite does. (5,2)
19 His law I find broken, his language I find hard to understand. (7)
21 Come out, come out—it's here! (7)
23 Though abundantly supplied, Peter is somewhat troubled about the French. (7)
24 Getting in deep next, I get fit to be tied—or untied! (9)
25 Hail and farewell? (In at least one state!) (5)
26 Imagine such as a totem pole on part of the deck! (It's message is probably fairly short.) (7,8)

DOWN

1 Descriptive of the rest of the submarine crew? (Perhaps for those who like bass.) (6,2,3,4)
2 Most of you might take a number with what sounds like fish, as the Englishman likes it—especially for one of those special times! (3,6)
3 If you want something different, sing out—or if you get expelled, they might be doing this to you! (7)
4 A number of workers, or those who live with them? (7)
5 At one time his calling might have been extra—but you're not as likely to find one hanging around street corners now. (7)
6 Irish equivalent of a blind pig? (7)
7 With a special coat on, just to make good runners? (Well, that might be the source of the stuff you used!) (5)
8 Perhaps the source of Washington's favorite glass—in Massachusetts instead of Virginia? (7,8)
15 His accusation was literary. (5,4)
17 One might make this up, and as a site for war criminals, it was real! (7)
18 What I might do to E, as they say. (But not following the third letter.) (7)
19 It overlaps in a fugue, but the shaky composition totters, obviously. (7)
20 On the road, perhaps, one that crawls to a stop. (7)
22 Like the beginning of 26 (and 20), it's tasty! (5)

SEE LAST WEEK'S SOLUTION AT LEFT

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

©T. Weedy

It's 11pm. Do you know where your money is?

U.S. missiles on display at White Sands, New Mexico. Working Assets won't use your savings to finance nuclear overkill.

You know where your taxes go. But chances are some of the money you've left in the *bank* is also working night and day to build needless missiles and bombs.

Money you've set aside could also be financing nuclear power or job discrimination against women. Because bankers invest your savings where *they*—not *you*—see fit.

At Working Assets Money Fund, your money works *for,* not *against,* your principles. For example, we consciously avoid using your money to finance weapons.

Higher Interest, Too

What's more, Working Assets pays *higher interest* than most banks*. You can write an unlimited number of *free* checks . . . withdraw at *any time* without penalty. . . and know that your money is *safe.*

To learn more, simply write or call for a free prospectus. You have nothing to lose. And what you'll gain is worth far more than money.

*Based on 1984 yields of money market checking accounts at America's 50 largest banks and thrifts, as reported in *Bank Rate Monitor*. Working Assets yields fluctuate daily and principal is not insured. $1,000 minimum investment.

WORKING ASSETS
Assets now over $40 million

WORKING ASSETS MONEY FUND
230 California Street, San Francisco CA 94111

☐ **Yes!** I want to get free check-writing and earn high current interest—without financing needless weapons. Please send me your free prospectus including more complete information about management fees and expenses. I'll read it carefully before investing.

Name

Address

City/State/Zip

403

Earning Interest On Your Principles

800-543-8800. Toll-free night or day

ETSU LIBRARY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED